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DUGGLEBY HOWE, BURIAL J AND THE EASTERN YORKSHIRE CLUB SCENE

by Alex Gibson & Alan Ogden

The large round barrow at Duggleby Howe in North Yorkshire (also known as Howe Hill) lies on the southern slope of the upper Gypsy Race valley (SE880669) and is well known in the local and national archaeological literature as one of the largest and richest Neolithic round barrows in Britain. It was first excavated 1798 or 1799 by the Reverend Christopher Sykes but no records remain of his excavation nor do any finds survive. Almost 100 years later, in 1890, J.R. Mortimer re-opened the mound with the sponsorship of Sir Tatton Sykes of Sledmere (Mortimer 1905, 23 - 42, No.273) and excavated an area 40 feet (c.12m) square over the centre of the barrow.

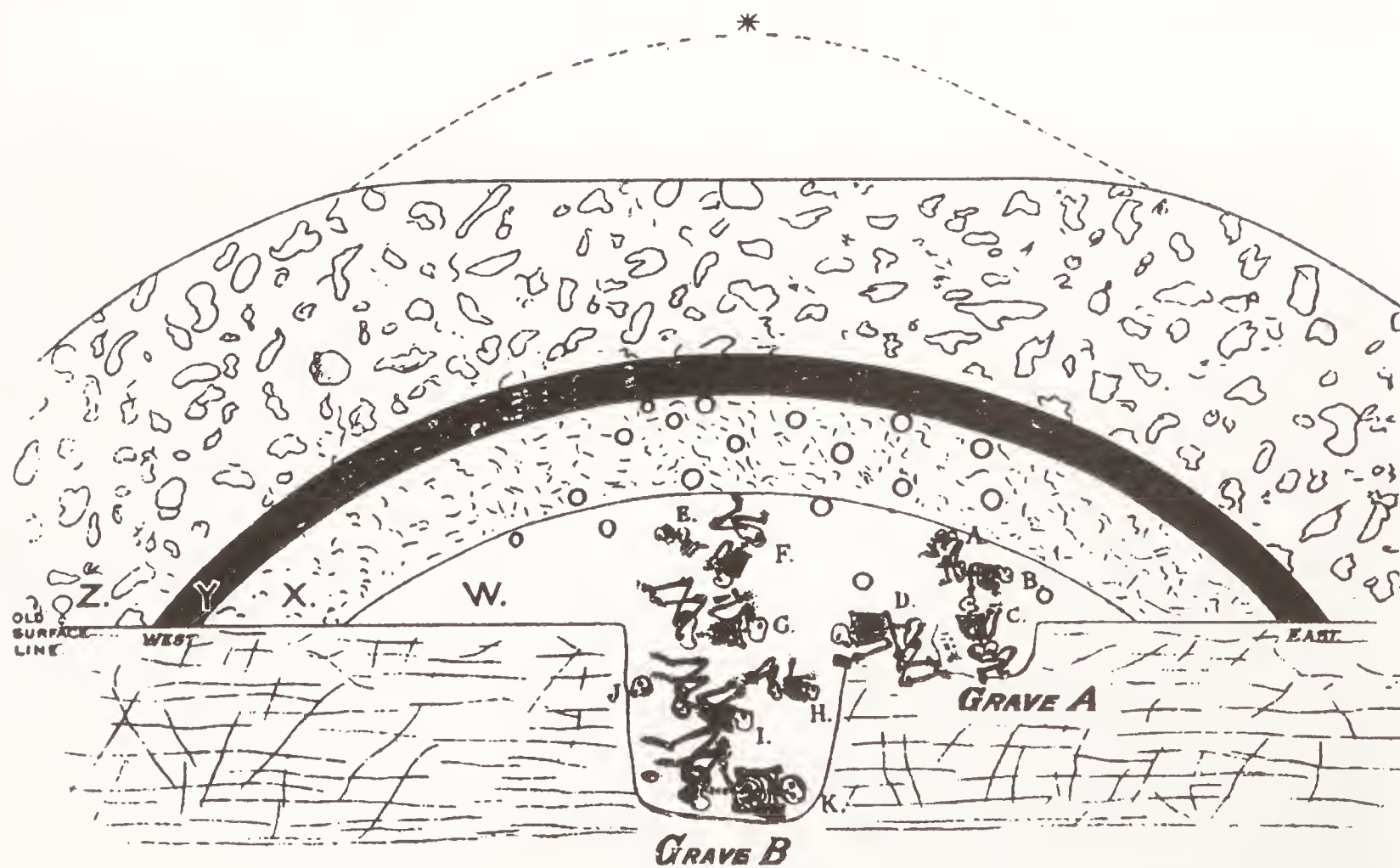


FIG. 45.

- w. The inner mound of a clayey or earthy matter, $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet in thickness.
- x. A bed of small chalk grit, $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick, in which were most of the cremated bodies.
- y. Blue Kimeridge clay, 12 inches in thickness, sealing up all the inhumed bodies, as well as the cremated interments, which were found at various elevations, as shown by the small circles; but only a few were vertically over the grave.
- z. Roughly quarried chalk, $9\frac{1}{2}$ feet in thickness, in the centre of the mound.
- * Marks the assumed original height of the barrow, which was probably 8 or 10 feet higher than the present flat top.
- o. Indicates cremated interments.

Fig. 1 Mortimer's Section through Duggleby Howe. From Mortimer 1905.

A near central shaft (Grave B) was interpreted by Mortimer as the primary grave and this contained various complete and partial inhumations in its fill (Fig. 1). The sequence of burial and associated artefacts have already been discussed in detail by Kinnes (Kinnes *et al.* 1983) and again by Loveday (2002) and no subsequent description is necessary here suffice to say that while no radiocarbon dates existed for the burial sequence, most authorities agree, from the associated artefacts that accompany the burials, that the inhumations were being deposited in the middle Neolithic, probably in the few centuries before 3000 BC.

In 2006, generously funded by English Heritage, the present writers commenced a re-examination of Mortimer's Duggleby Howe archive. The aim of the project was to obtain radiocarbon dates from the burials within the mound and thus create an absolute chronology on which to anchor the relative sequence. This dating programme is still underway but before any human or animal bone could be used for dating, it was first necessary to record the surviving bones. In so doing, Burial J has proved of particular interest.

Burial I was the second interment to be deposited in the central pit (Fig. 1). The burial is not described in great detail by Mortimer who remarks only

'adult, probably a male of about 60 years of age, in the same bent position (i.e. contracted inhumation) but considerably contorted by the unequal settling of the grave. Its head was placed to the east. The femur and tibia measured $17\frac{2}{3}$ and $14\frac{1}{2}$ inches respectively. Nothing accompanied this body; but near the feet was the skull 'J' of a person about 20 years of age, with the back upper left molar fully grown, minus its under jaw; and there is a large suspicious-looking circular hole in the left parietal bone' (Mortimer 1905, 28-9, my brackets).

One can only assume, from the presence of leg bones and from the albeit schematic section drawing, that burial I was a more or less complete contracted inhumation. However when Dr J.G. Garson undertook the report on the human bones from Duggleby, he noted that some of the long bone measurements had been supplied by Mortimer as the bones themselves (including burial I) 'have unfortunately not survived' (*ibid* p30). Later in the report, however, the tibiae and femora of I are recorded as being present in the assemblage but Mortimer himself acknowledged that

'As a specialist, Dr Garson naturally attaches the greater importance to the collecting of osseous remains. But an ordinary archaeologist probably considers the collecting of other relics more important than securing the bones for these are, except in the hands of specialists, comparatively useless.' (*ibid*, 41)

This statement sheds considerable light on Mortimer's collection strategy when it came to human remains and as a consequence, we cannot be certain that burial I was complete, nor can we be certain that Mortimer necessarily recovered or retained all the bones. Now, only the skull survives.

Burial J, by contrast was represented solely by a skull. The fact that it lacked a lower jaw and, more importantly, that this was remarked upon by Mortimer (in other words he didn't just ignore it), indicates that the skull was in a skeletal state when deposited and (presumably) placed at the feet of burial I.

It has already been remarked upon that Mortimer recorded a 'suspicious-looking' hole in the left parietal bone but he makes no further comment. Garson, however, records 'a rounded opening' on each parietal bone, gives the diameters as 33mm (left side) and 20mm (right). He records stellated fracture rays and concludes that blunt force trauma was the cause of death. 'There is little doubt that these holes are the result of sharp and quick blows delivered with considerable force' (*ibid* 34).

Kinnes also remarked on the parietal holes on this skull suggesting that they 'may have been made to support or mount the skull in some presumptive cult or trophy context of a kind perhaps to be seen in the causewayed enclosure complex at Hambledon Hill' (Kinnes *et al.* 1983, 95). This is in part a cautious interpretation. Firstly it pays no heed to Garson's conclusion that the fractures were perimortem and, therefore, probably the cause of death while at the same time it acknowledges the special importance and unusual features of this deposit. Arguing against Kinnes's hypothesis is the fact that these fractures occur on thick areas of the skull. Holes would have been much easier to make, for example, on the thinner temporal bones. Kinnes is correct to suggest that the skull may well have been kept as a trophy, after all it was missing its lower jaw and was therefore skeletal when deposited in the grave, but the holes under discussion are not primarily mounting holes.



Fig. 2 Skull J. Left parietal showing blunt force injury with inverse bevels and radiating fractures (Hole = 40mm diameter)

The skull from burial J still survives in the Mortimer collection in the Hull and East Riding Museum. It must be said at the outset that whilst the C19th restorations of the skulls have been done with skill and care, the use of unsympathetic materials such as glue-impregnated fabric strips, sealing wax and fire clay have obscured some palaeopathological features and are often non-reversible processes. Furthermore, the use of fire clay in particular renders X-ray analysis of partially obscured features pointless. Nevertheless, all surviving bone has been re-analysed (by ARO) as part of the current project and it has been confirmed that the parietal fractures are indeed perimortem caused by heavy blows from a blunt instrument (Ortner 2003, 121-3) (Figs. 2 & 3).

While Mortimer considered all the burials at Duggleby Howe to be male, it is likely that skull J is in fact a female skull (though the possibility of it being a gracile male cannot be ruled out). The symmetrical placing of the holes also suggests that these did not result from 2 simultaneous blows but rather that a deathblow was followed by a similarly placed blow to the opposite side of the head. It may even be that the head had been placed on a pointed anvil stone and the force of the single blow to the left side caused sufficient force for the anvil stone to fracture the right.



Fig. 3 Skull J. Interior of the right parietal showing characteristic blunt force injury with inverse bevels revealing that the skull was living and lined with periosteum at the time of the blow. Hole = 25mm diameter.

These parietal fractures are not the only signs of trauma on this skull. There may be a blade cut down the centre of the forehead. This is partly obscured by the rigid restoration of the skull, however, it is unusual to find parallel edges of skull fragments that do not meet at any point. It is also unlikely that exactly equal widths of bone were eroded off each fragment before it was reconstructed. As it is impossible to see beneath the adhesive and filler, all that can be said is that this appearance could be suggestive of an underlying perimortem blade injury. Unlike the damage to the parietals where we see enough to be certain of our diagnosis, all that can be offered with the frontal bone is suspicion. There are also signs that the individual had a long-healed fracture of the nose resulting in a 10mm shift of the midline to the left. While the latter fracture cannot in anyway be regarded as a necessarily deliberately inflicted injury, nevertheless taken with the other signs of violence, it may suggest that this individual had been abused and badly treated.

Burial I, the burial which skull J accompanied, was recorded by Mortimer as a male of about 60 years old. Now, only the skull has been located and the individual was certainly a mature male. The skull has a lot of surface damage and has again been unsympathetically restored by modern standards but here too there seems to be the possibility of a perimortem fracture to the left parietal. Perhaps this person was also violently killed or possibly even mutilated shortly after death. This raises questions regarding the status of the other burials in the central pit, for whilst perimortem trauma is not noted elsewhere, nevertheless violent death cannot be ruled out. There are clearly numerous soft tissue injuries which can result in death but which would leave no traces on the skeleton. This must, however, remain subjective.

Schulting & Wysocki (2005) have identified a number of blunt force perimortem fractures especially from skulls from the long barrows of southern England. The phenomenon is, of course, much more widespread both chronologically and geographically (Schulting 2006: Taylor 2002). When considering this data the possibility of accidental injury must always be acknowledged however there is now such a body of data that it is generally accepted that interpersonal violence was fairly commonplace amongst Neolithic societies. Interestingly, from the Neolithic long barrows, broadly comparable at least chronologically and culturally with Duggleby Howe, Schulting & Wysocki (2005) conclude that both male and female skeletons are affected in almost equal measure. This is important for our reinterpretation of Duggleby Howe for whilst Mortimer identified all the skeletons from the barrow as male, the present re-analysis of the remaining skeletal elements has shown that this is by no means certain.

The nature of this violence is less easy to determine. Taylor (2002) has discussed such emotive issues as sacrifice and execution. The victims of the former may well have been drawn from a slave class or a vanquished enemy (often the same thing) while the latter method of dispatch implies justice. Healed cranial trauma on some of the southern British material, such as the skull from Fussell's Lodge (Schulting & Wysocki, 2005, fig. 16) equally suggest warfare or duelling from which combatants recovered. In many cases sacrifice and execution may be difficult to determine archaeologically - perhaps only the ultimate context of the deposit suggesting one or the other. The killing of Polyxena as depicted in Euripides's *Trojan Women* illustrates well the ambiguities at

play. Neoptolemos, son of Achilles, sacrificed the daughter of Priam at Achilles's tomb partly in an act of revenge (she had been instrumental in Achilles's death) and partly as a sacrifice to ensure a favourable wind to speed the safe return of the Greeks from Troy (thus mirroring the sacrifice of Iphigeneia at the start of the campaign). Both deity appeasement and justice are involved here but the end result is the same. Admittedly this is mythology and not history or ethnography but nevertheless it still deals with concepts readily understood by its audience in a society where inter-city warfare was rife and human life could be held very cheaply.

Examples such as the large numbers of arrowheads at the causewayed enclosure of Crickley Hill (Dixon 1988), the destruction of the ramparts and arrowhead injuries at Hambledon Hill (Mercer 1988) and the large number of projectile points associated with the destruction of house 1 at Ballyharry (Moore 2004) all confirm that the stone-tipped arrow was not just an implement of the chase. Other Neolithic weaponry is more difficult to identify positively as Schulting and Wysocki (2005) have discussed. Distinguishing between a weapon and a tool may rely purely on context (a carving knife in your kitchen is a utensil, but the same item in your pocket at a football match is an offensive weapon). Thus stone axes and antler picks may be both tools and weaponry. There is also a growing amount of evidence for the presence of clubs in the British Neolithic. Schulting and Wysocki (2005) have already identified clubs from Ehenside Tarn. A substantial (0.64m long) alder wood club - almost certainly an offensive weapon with pommel-ended handle - from the Thames at Chelsea has produced a radiocarbon date of 3630-3350 cal BC (Webber & Ganiaris 2004, 126). A simpler 1m long club of Sorbus wood (Whitebeam), with a head not dissimilar to a worn shinty stick was recovered from a Neolithic trackway at Nieuw-Dordrecht in the Netherlands and dates slightly later to c.2800-2400 cal BC (Casparie 1982). Later still, in the Beaker period, a 1m long piece of carbonised oak was found in the North Grave at Cairnpapple Hill and interpreted by Piggott as a possible club (Piggott 1948, 91). More recently similarly unmodified sticks with a naturally weighted end are documented to have had lethal potential in the Irish Shillelagh (Hurley 2002) used particularly in C19th gang fighting. Made usually of oak, the weighted end could be augmented by the addition of lead.

Composite clubs are, of course, well known from the ethnographic record from the Americas (Baldwin 2001) to Africa and the South Seas (Phelps 1976). Ball clubs, for example (Figs. 4 & 5a), may have a carved or added wooden ball at the end of the shaft to give added weight and precision to the impact while others may be augmented with stone balls and/or metal or bone spikes (Baldwin 2001). Stones may be modified into spherical or lenticular shapes (Fig. 4) but equally some suitably shaped unmodified stones may also be used: smooth water-worn pebbles in particular may be selected (Fig. 5b). These clubs can also be highly decorated and reach a status or significance far beyond the simple weapon. Indeed, in 1832 when describing Native American weaponry and whilst staying with the Teton Sioux, George Catlin remarked that many war clubs may be 'fashioned out with some considerable picturesque form and grace' (Catlin 1973, 236 - letter 29). While these clubs undoubtedly also were regarded as symbols of power and authority they were clearly ultimately weapon-derived. They were even passed down the generations.

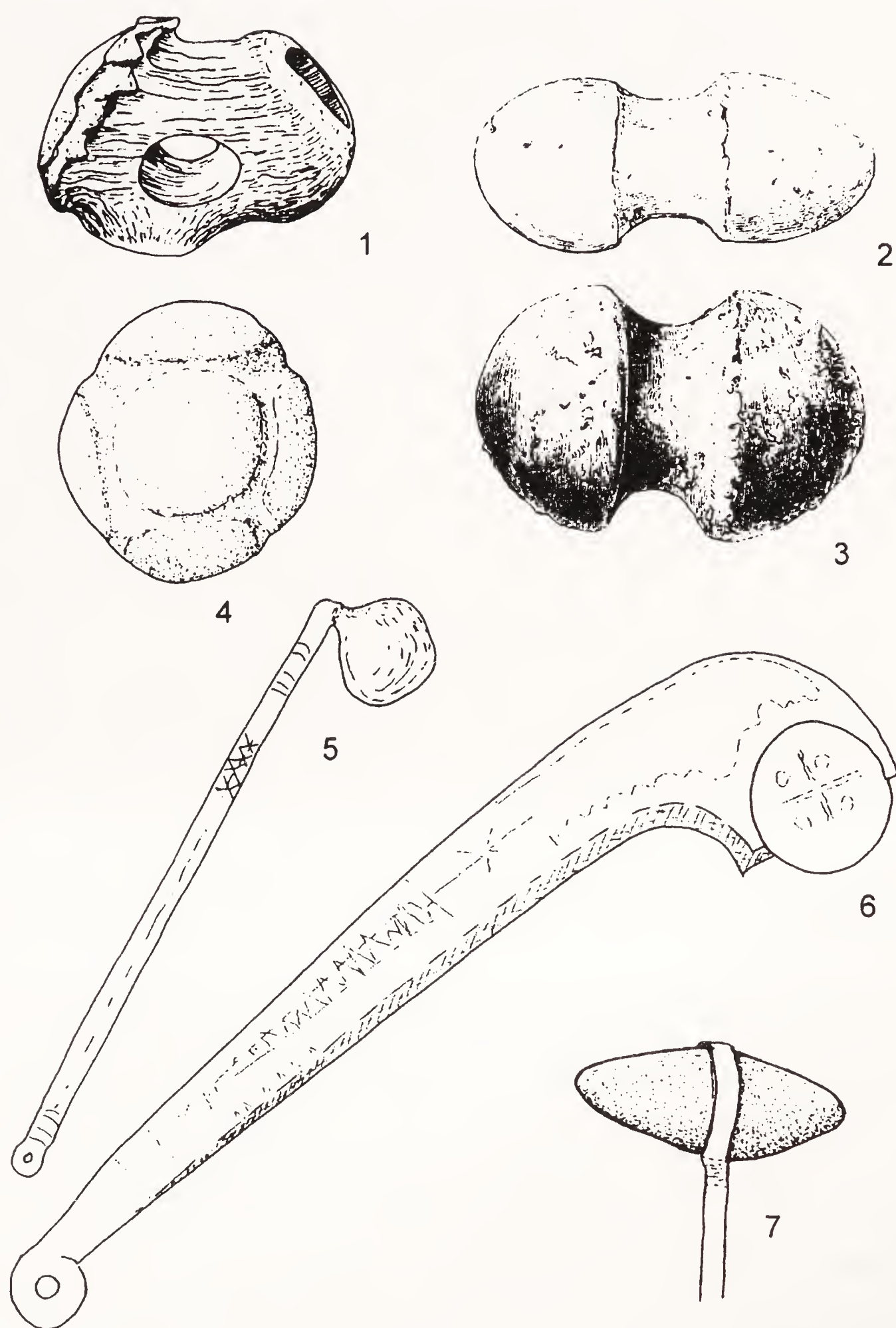


Fig. 4 1 - Antler macehead from Duggleby Howe. 2 & 3 - 'net-sinkers' from Ambleside. 4 - carved stone ball from Bridlington. 5 - Mid C19th North American Indian ball club. The stone is within a leather pouch. 6 - Mid C19th North American Indian war club. 7 - C20th North American stone-headed club. The soap-stone head has been carved into shape. 1 From Simpson 1996. 2 & 3 from Evans 1872. 4 after Manby 1974, 5 & 6 after Catlin 1973. 7 drawn from photograph plate 221 in Baldwin 2001. 1 - 4 Scale $\frac{1}{2}$. 5 - 7 not to scale.

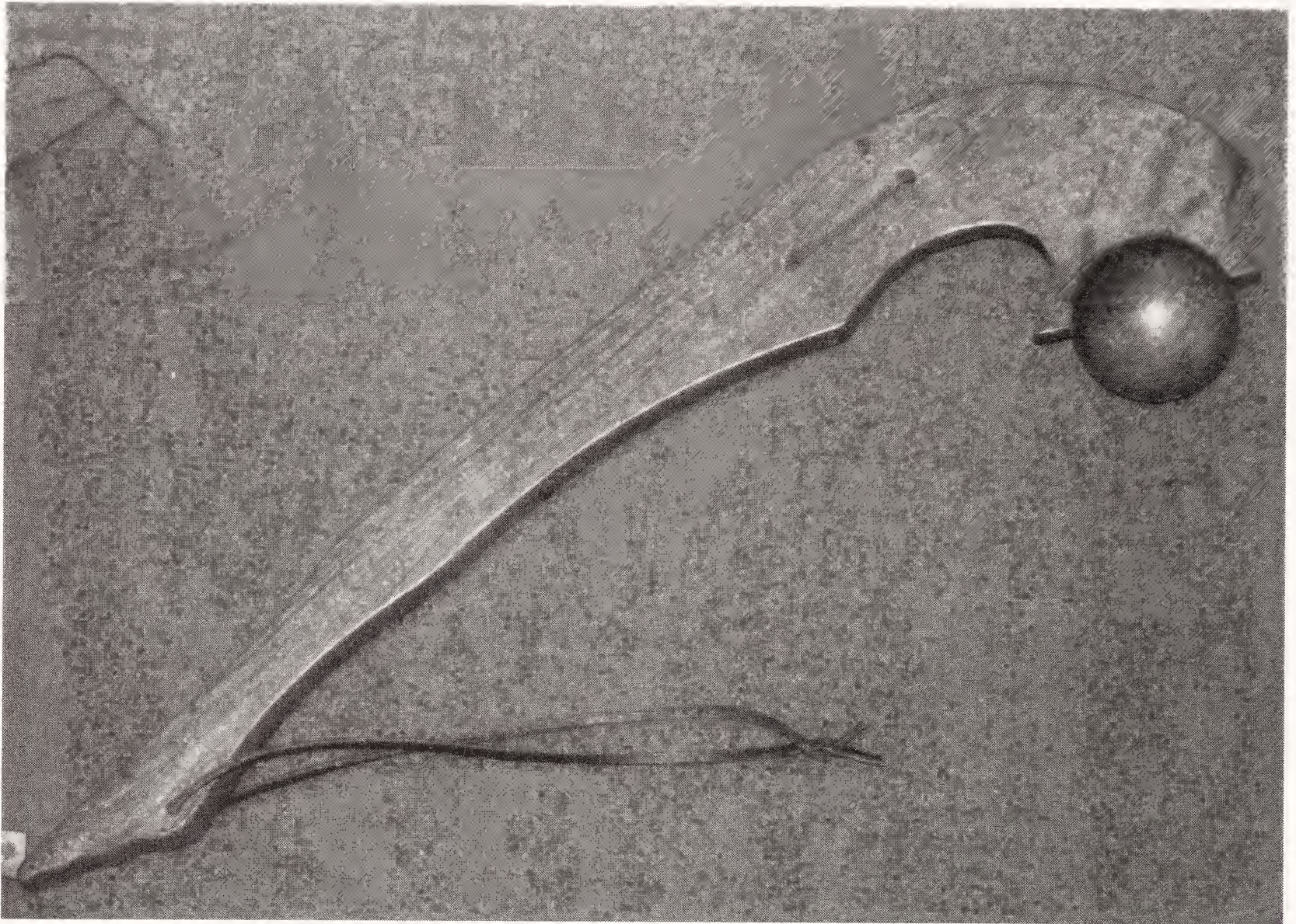


Fig. 5 A - tourist club based on a North American Woodland Indian design. Overall length 63cm. B (opposite) - tourist club made by Navaho Indians. The stone is a completely unmodified water-worn pebble securely fixed to the handle with rawhide. Overall length 42 cm. Though both clubs have been made for the tourist market, they are still nevertheless very effective weapons.

The carved stone balls of Scotland are perfectly shaped were they intended to have been the ball end of composite clubs fixed to their shafts by binding and/or resin. In 1876, Smith suggested that these balls may have been attached to sticks or thongs and used as maces or bolas. The weapon theory was dismissed by Mann (1914) as some highly decorated examples would have risked damage had they been thrown or hit against a hard object. Mann also judged that the low protruberances on some would have been less effective as weapons than the sharp, raised knobs of other examples. Instead, Mann preferred to see them as weights. Sixty years later, in her comprehensive discussion of these artefacts, Marshall (1977) also dismissed the club theory as she could not envisage a suitable method of binding. The idea of the carved stone balls representing projectile weapons has again been raised and a recent study has demonstrated them to be superbly aerodynamic (Todd 2006).

Generally lacking secure contexts, the dating of carved stone balls is difficult. Those decorated with spirals may be linked to Grooved Ware and Passage Grave art and therefore may post-date the Duggleby burials however these decorated examples are in the minority and cannot necessarily be used to date the artefact class as a whole. Similarly, the distribution of these objects is overwhelmingly in Scotland though an

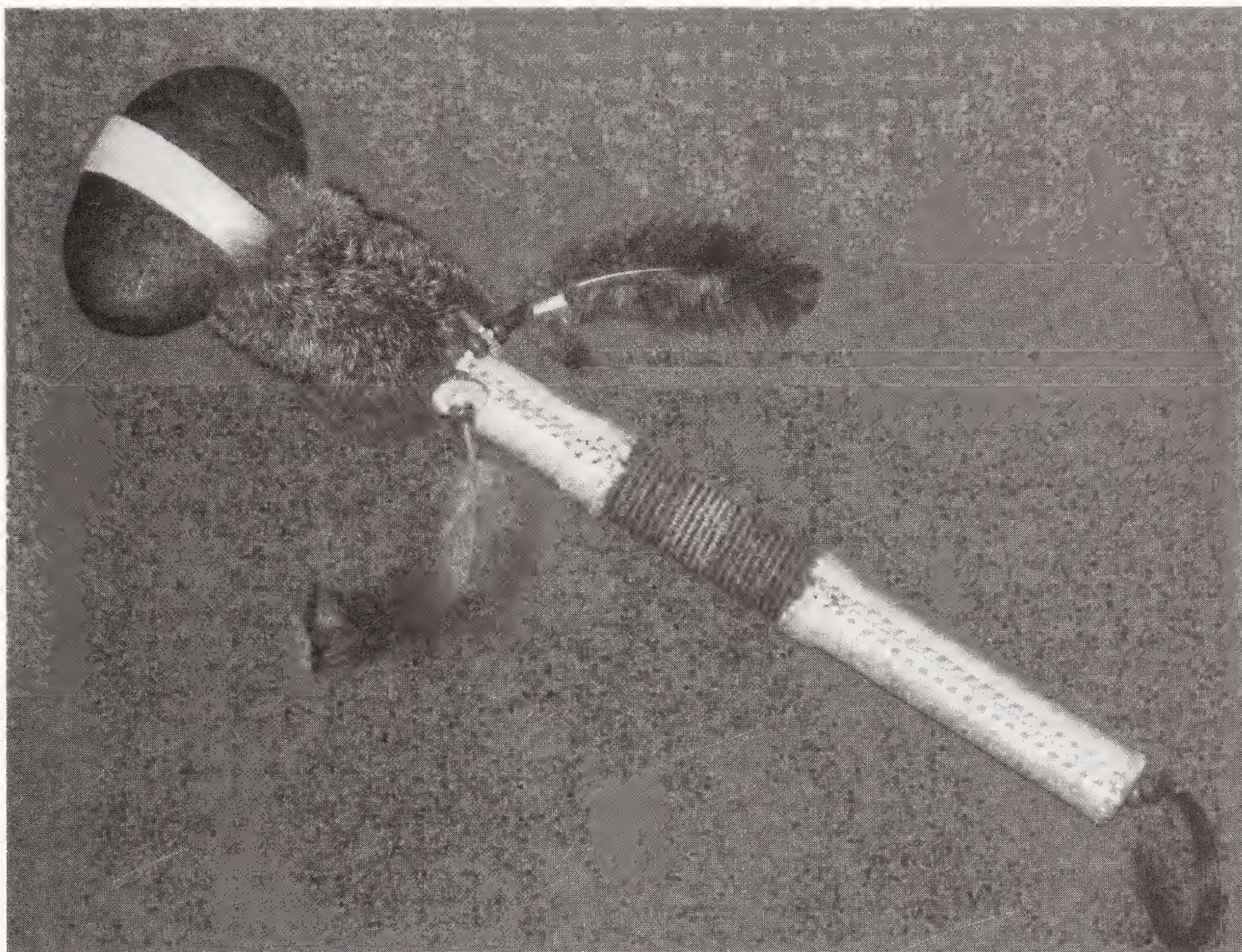


Fig. 5 B - tourist club made by Navaho Indians.

example from near Bridlington (Fig. 4), at the opposite end of the Gypsy Race to Duggleby Howe, should not be overlooked in this context (Manby 1974, fig. 42.7).

Whilst these stone balls have a certain uniformity in terms of their size and generally spherical nature, they are actually quite a diverse group of artefacts as Marshall's discussion and illustrations show. They exhibit a remarkable range of decoration and surface treatments yet decorated examples constitute the minority (Edmonds 1992, fig 14.1). Are we, therefore, correct in grouping them together? Because some are highly decorated does not mean that the plainer examples could not have been mounted as ball clubs. Because they are not perforated, does not mean that they could not have been mounted (*contra* Marshall 1977) as few of the American ball clubs have perforated balls: rawhide is the preferred mounting medium. Furthermore, we have already noted above that some weaponry can be highly decorated, perhaps not even intended for practical use. Thus the simplistic functional interpretation (club) and the more symbolic interpretation (hereditary emblems - Edmonds 1992) need not be mutually exclusive. Baldwin observes this with regard to the Native American ball clubs. The earliest are simple balls on sticks, the later ones are embellished with spikes. "The third phase of the ball-headed club starts after 1890 and runs well through the first half of the 20th century. All Indian wars are over. The tribes are on their reservations. Clubs handed down and newly-made clubs are now thought of as ceremonials, show pieces and status symbols" (2001, 16).

Some of the so-called 'net-sinkers' or 'sink-stones' such as those found at Ambleside and illustrated by Evans (1872, fig 159) would also make excellent war clubs once again with remarkably close parallels in North America (Baldwin 2001) (Fig. 4). Evans dismisses their use as hammer stones from the observation that they are often in soft stone and exhibit no damage to the ends. However, if used against living tissue such as skin and bone, then the hardness of the stone is to a degree academic and damage to the striking ends need not be envisaged. Furthermore, Baldwin (2001) observes that some North American stone-headed clubs use soapstone which can be easily and quickly fashioned. The net-sinker interpretation is largely drawn from ethnographic parallels, though Warren (2005, 56-8) has noted that there is a comparatively large number from the Tweed valley. The only example known to the present writer with any context comes from a possible Bronze Age settlement site below the cairn at Sant y Nyll in Glamorgan (Savory 1962; Burrow 2003, 79). Net sinkers from ethnographic contexts however, are generally less well-formed stones. They may be stones completely unmodified except for a groove or edge chip around which to wrap the cord of the net or they may have a simple perforation through which to pass the cord. The Ambleside examples (Fig. 4) are perfectly formed symmetrical objects finished to a degree unnecessary for a net sinker. Rather these grooved or waisted stones may be better suited for fixing to a handle by a leather thong. This is not to deny that some of the less well-formed examples may indeed be sink stones and clearly the size of the individual artefact will influence interpretation, rather it is an attempt to look at the practical shapes of the artefacts and to consider a range of often equally valid interpretations.

With this in mind, and contemporary with the burial phase at Duggleby Howe, are a series of antler and stone maceheads (*inter alia* Roe & Radley 1968; Simpson, 1996; Loveday *et al.* 2007). Usually considered 'symbols of power' (Clarke *et al.* 1985, 58-65) a fundamental question has to be raised: how did the bearers of these symbols achieve that power? Given the increasing evidence for interpersonal violence in the Neolithic (not to mention the entire past history of humanity) it is not unreasonable to assume that at least some of this authority was exercised through violent means and that the symbolic badges of that authority may be derived from the practical tools of maintaining that influence. Consider the symbolic mace at council and parliamentary meetings - a symbol of authority ultimately derived from medieval weaponry.

Lacking secure contexts and organic associations for many of these artefacts, much of this discussion is, by necessity, subjective. But we are surely emerging from a state of sanitised prehistory/ethnography to a realisation that the Neolithic was not some bucolic idyll but a very real society with all the personal, territorial and possibly even tribal jealousies that have plagued human history. We must also try and break away from catch-all explanations for superficially similar artefacts and keep an open mind when considering practical and symbolic interpretations: the two need not be exclusive. With the increasing recognition of violence in the Neolithic so must our awareness of the mechanics of that violence also increase.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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APPENDIX 1:

SKELETAL REPORT ON SKULL J (Alan Ogden)

Calotte only: maxilla no longer present. Heavily restored and very incomplete: Young adult, female or gracile male; relatively thin supraorbital ridges.

Clear evidence of 2 Perimortem blunt force injuries to L & R parietals with inverse bevels and radiating fractures (Left 4.0cm diameter: Right 2.5cm diameter).

Frontal: vertical deficiency right of the midline (possible 3.5cm width blade wound with some peeling). Long-healed broken nose pushed 10mm to left: new porous bone over glabellae.

Max cranial Breadth 13.8cm: Max cranial Length 18.5: Cranial Index 74.6

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TWO UNUSUAL ROMANO-BRITISH DRAGONESQUE BROOCHES FROM WELL, NORTH YORKSHIRE

by Fraser Hunter

Two recent finds of Romano-British dragonesque brooches from near Well are discussed. They illustrate different aspects of the transfer of Iron Age art styles into the Roman period; one, apparently uniquely, has connections to southern British traditions.

INTRODUCTION

Two unusual dragonesque brooches were found by Mr Alastair Hackett during metal-detecting rallies near Well, North Yorkshire, in September 2004 and 2005. They were recorded at the time by the Yorkshire Finds Liaison Officer, but as both have features of interest they merit full publication.

The two brooches were found about 500 m apart, on the ridge a little to the west of the village of Well (Fig. 1). This is an area of known Romano-British activity, with a villa about a kilometre from the findspot of these items (Gilyard-Beer 1951; Turnbull 1982; Scott 1993, 153). Rectangular enclosures and field systems are known from cropmarks in the intervening fields (N. Boldrini, *pers comm*; N. Yorks Historic Environment Records MNY24032 and 24033); these provide the most likely context for the brooches, deriving from a non-villa rural settlement.

Dragonesque brooches are some of the most eye-catching artefacts from the Roman period. They are a Romano-British type which drew on both native and Roman traditions to create a distinctive fusion of styles. The prototypes are plain iron non-zoomorphic S-shaped brooches: while very rare, two securely Iron Age examples come from Wetwang Slack, E Yorks, of third-second century BC date (Hull and Hawkes 1987, 168; Dent 1982, fig. 4 no. 236), and the prototype's continuity into the Roman period is suggested by closely similar brooches from Rudston villa, E Yorks and Maiden Castle, Dorset (Stead 1980, fig. 61 no. 17; Wheeler 1943, 262, fig. 85 no. 32). However, their full decorative development is a Roman-period phenomenon: all the dated copper alloy examples are Roman, and the type flourished from the mid first to the late second century AD. This is best understood as part of a general explosion of Celtic-style metalwork immediately before and during the early Roman period, a reaction initially to the threat and subsequently the social and visual stimulus of Rome (cf Hunter 2008). The dragonesques may be a reaction to the rich influences from Roman brooch types, particularly plate brooches, which were virtually unknown in the Iron Age. The distribution concentrates strongly in central Britain, from the Humber to the Forth (Feachem 1968, fig. 1; recent finds fill out this distribution but do not materially alter it). Feachem's studies (1951; 1968) remain fundamental, and his classification has stood the test of time. The work of Kilbride-Jones (1980, 170-83) has also been influential, although his division into 'East Brigantian', 'West Brigantian' and 'Parisian' types is flawed. Jundi and Hill (1998, 131-4) have provided a useful discussion of the possible meanings behind such brooches to their wearers and viewers; for a detailed review of classification and interpretation see Hunter (2008).

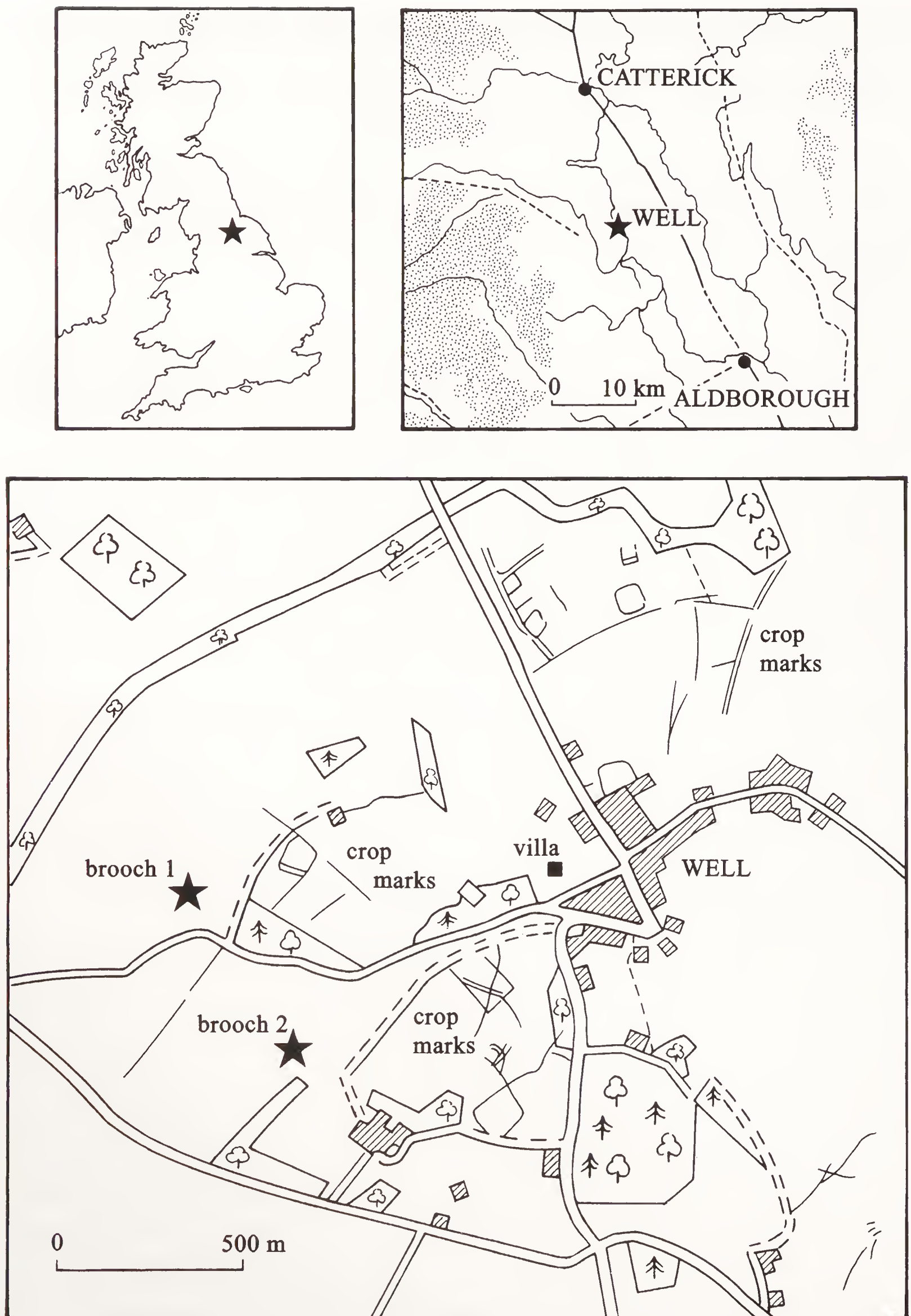


Fig. 1 Location map. Drawn by Marion O'Neil. Cropmark plots were kindly supplied from the English Heritage National Mapping Programme.

Over 200 dragonesque brooches are now known, almost three times the number available to Feachem. Attention has focussed on the more plentiful enamelled examples, which make up almost two-thirds of the total; when Feachem wrote, non-enamelled types were much rarer. In recent years excavations and, in particular, the reporting of finds through the Portable Antiquities Scheme, have greatly increased the numbers. The two brooches from Well have a number of interesting features which serve to illustrate wider issues.

THE BROOCHES (Fig. 2)

1 Unusual dragonesque brooch, lacking the lower head and pin tip. Marginal incised lines define the S-shaped field on the flat body. This contains a punched-dot design with a pattern of stippled and blank zones. The overall design is not entirely clear due to corrosion pitting; there are faintly-incised guide lines for the terminal fields, overlain in places by dots. The design has rotational symmetry, with the ends split longitudinally into curved triangles flanking a central circular motif. The point of each stippled triangle appears to meet the circle, round which blank areas flow to form trumpet-like motifs well-known in Celtic art. The central circle comprises two larger stippled quadrants and two smaller blank ones. This seems to be a variant ying-yang motif; the stippled areas can be interpreted as two opposed concave-convex lobes, separated by blank areas (see suggested reconstruction in Fig. 2b). At the lower end the field terminates in a point, but at the upper its line is continued to the snout, dividing the head in two. The head is an unusual form, apparently derived from back-to-back conjoined concave-convex trumpet pairs, with a knob terminal at the snout which has an incised marginal line. The tip of the curved oval-sectioned pin is lost; the other end is flattened and looped round the neck, with a slight central channel. Brooch L 48.5 mm, W 34 mm, T 3.5-4 mm. Pin L 29 mm, W 4.5 mm, D 2.2 x 2.7 mm. Alloy (from surface X-ray fluorescence): both brooch and pin were leaded bronze, with minor silver and antimony. Found in September 2004; NGR SE 255 818. Portable Antiquities Scheme reference: YORYM-444291.

2 Intact openwork dragonesque brooch with boss and trumpet decoration. The openwork body (framed by a raised rounded rib) has a central lentoid motif formed of conjoined double trumpets, with a central boss; the heads have a central boss-eye surrounded by a channel, a higher-relief snout boss with similar channel, and a prominent backward-leaning ear. This takes the shape of a broad-mouthed trumpet, the trumpet mouth to the rear with two low curving ribs on the ear itself. On the lower head the trumpet mouth has been filed flat, but the upper has a low rib extending along its edge. The snouts are slightly worn. The rear has a slightly irregular cast surface, with some spare untrimmed metal. The intact curved pin has a tapering and slightly flattened tip, and is flattened and curled round one neck; stress lines from hammering are visible. L 50.5 mm, W 25 mm, T 3-6.3 mm; pin L 32 mm, W 17.5 mm, T 2.5 mm. Alloy: both brooch and pin were leaded bronze with minor zinc. Found in September 2005: NGR SE 258 814 (discovery reported in *The Searcher* November 2005, p.9 and *Treasure Hunting* Jan 2006, p.61). Portable Antiquities Scheme reference: YORYM-6EF031.

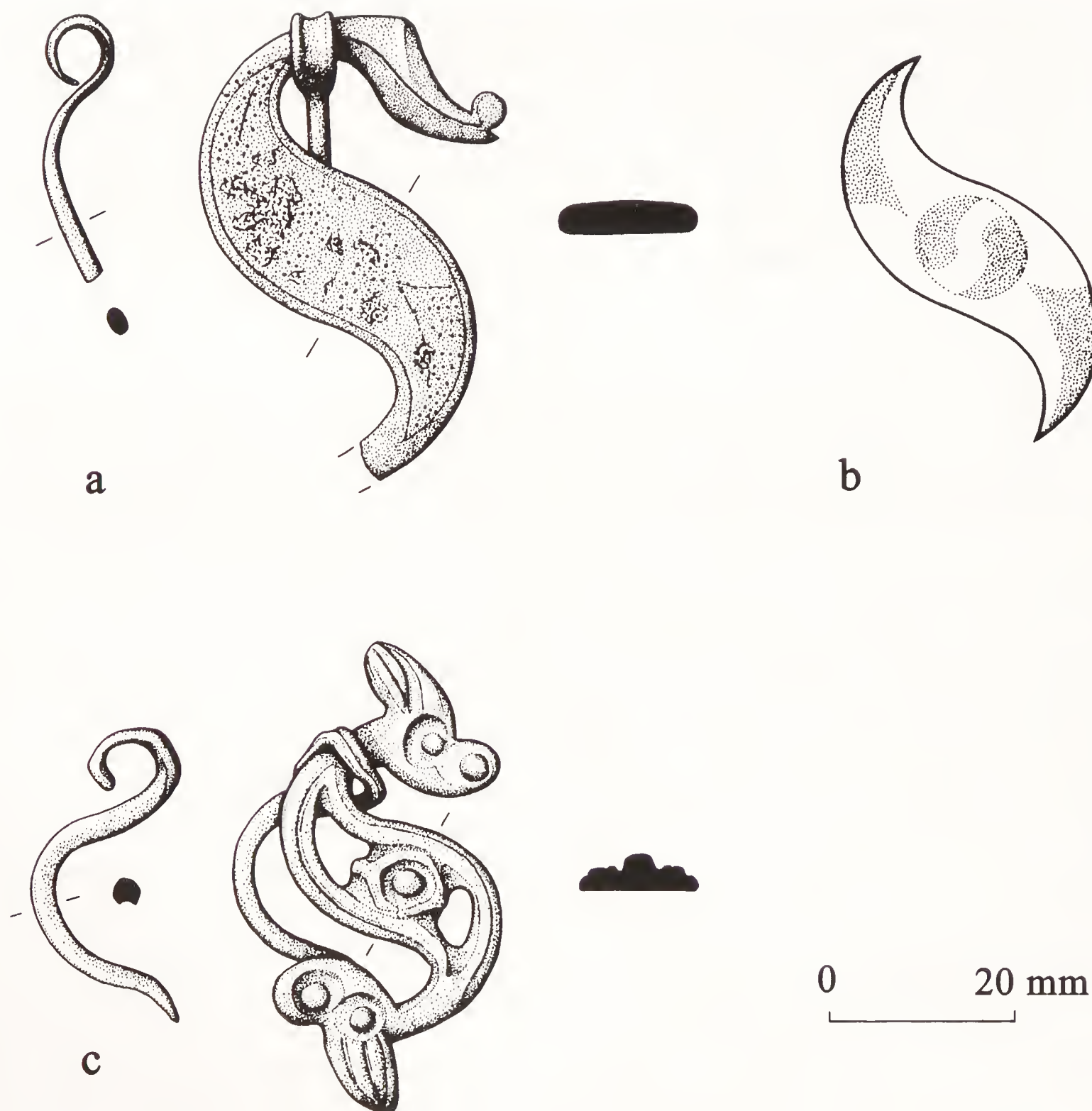


Fig. 2 Dragoneseque brooches from Well. (a) Brooch 1, with punched-dot decoration. (b) Suggested reconstruction of the decorative scheme of brooch 1. (c) Openwork brooch 2. Drawn by Marion O'Neil.

DISCUSSION

Dragoneseque brooches are vivid examples of the integration of indigenous metal-working styles into the art of the Roman province. Celtic art did not die with the conquest: existing object types continued in manufacture and use, while indigenous styles appeared both on typically Roman objects (such as seal boxes) and on hybrid objects such as brooches which grew up in the frontier area of central Britain (Megaw & Megaw 2001, 228-232; Hunter 2007; 2008; forthcoming). Dragoneseque brooches are one of these post-conquest flourishings. The two Well brooches reflect different local traditions. Brooch 2 is typical of central British metalwork, often termed 'boss style' (Leeds 1933, 110-1). This is known best on swords, scabbards and horse harness

(such as knobbed terrets, bridle bits, strap fasteners and strap mounts) from Humber to Forth. It is characterised by frequent use of simple rounded boss motifs along with various combinations of slender trumpets, both of which are found on the Well brooch. At least sixteen such openwork brooches are now known; this example has close parallels from the Roman Iron Age hillforts of Edinburgh Castle, Midlothian and Edgerston, Roxburghshire, and the Romano-British site of Kelco Cave, West Yorks (Mackreth 1997, 137, illus 120.3; Feachem 1951, fig. 2 nos 40-41).

Much more unusual is the other brooch, with its stippled design and stylised head. It is, to the author's knowledge, unique, and is likely to be an experiment or idiosyncratic variation. As such it gives some hints of the stimuli being drawn upon by the craft-workers. The idea behind the body decoration (divided triangular ends and a central circle) is a common one in the enamelled tradition (e.g. Feachem 1951, fig. 2, top row), but here executed in punched dots. This is an alien technique in northern metalwork. However, it is found regularly in southern British late Iron Age decorative traditions, for instance on a wide range of horse harness, the group IV sword hilt from Hod Hill, Dorset, the collar from Trenoweth, Cornwall, and zoomorphic vessel mounts such as the boar from Łęg Piekarski, Poland (an import from southern England) and the fish from Youlton, Cornwall (Jope 2000, pl 168-9, 259, 275a-d, 289 p-r, 292b-c, f, 294f, 297a, d-e; Brailsford 1962, fig. 1 no. A3; Megaw 1963, 28-30). Additionally, the unusual head form perhaps carries echoes of *trompetenmuster* ornaments, a style which starts in the second century AD (e.g. Oldenstein 1976, Taf 43, 69). It looks like the work of an artisan drawing on a range of different influences to create a new interpretation of the dragonesque brooch - either an individual commission, or an experiment which did not catch on.

These interesting brooches thus serve to illustrate two key elements of the dragonesque tradition: the debt to existing indigenous metalwork styles, and the artistic creativity in its genesis and development. Such stray finds may lack the detailed contextual information which would give us vital evidence of their date and social role, but they carry within them important elements of the story of how a distinctive Romano-British culture developed in the frontier zone.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to Alastair Hackett for bringing these finds to my attention and loaning them for study, Lore Troalen for the analyses, Sally Worrell for details of the finds recorded by the Portable Antiquities Scheme, Nick Boldrini for information from the North Yorkshire Historic Environment Record, and Marion O'Neil for illustrations. As museums near the findspot did not wish to acquire the brooches, they were purchased by the National Museums Scotland to ensure they remained available for study (registration numbers X.FU 24 and 25)

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EXCAVATIONS AT MOSS STREET DEPOT, MOSS STREET, YORK

by Nicola Toop

with contributions by H.E.M. Cool, C. Spall, R. Jackson, D. Jaques, K. Tucker,
A. Vince and K. Steane

During 2003 and 2004, archaeological evaluation and excavation were undertaken at the site of Moss Street Depot, York by Field Archaeology Specialists (FAS) Ltd. Six phases of activity were identified, dating from the Roman period to the modern day. This information adds to a growing corpus of evidence for Roman and medieval activity close to and on the Mount. Three phases of Roman activity were defined: Period 1 consisted of rubbish dumping from the colonia and land division of 2nd to early 3rd century date, Period 2 of the establishment of a trackway and possible funerary activity in the 3rd century, and Period 3 of inhumation burial in the later 3rd to 4th century. A hiatus of activity followed, until the 11th to 13th century, when the site was subdivided into a series of linear tofts. Little evidence for post-medieval activity was recovered, prior to the establishment of the Moss Street Depot and associated buildings during the 20th century.

INTRODUCTION

Moss Street Depot (SE 5978 5721) lies to the southwest of York, outside the City walls, and to the southeast of the current route of Blossom Street and The Mount (Fig. 1). Prior to the onset of archaeological work, the site had been occupied by a Council Depot, and consisted of wasteland, with the foundations of demolished structures.

A two-phase programme of archaeological work was undertaken, consisting of a scheme of archaeological evaluation, resulting in an open area mitigation excavation. The work was carried out on behalf of O'Neill and Associates for Yorkshire Housing. The initial evaluation, carried out in April and May 2003, consisted of five 3.0m x 3.0m trenches, and revealed the potential for remains of Roman to medieval date, including inhumation burials. The subsequent mitigation excavation, which occurred in April to May 2004, was designed to excavate and preserve by record remains impacted by the construction of a women's refuge; the excavated area was placed within the footprint of this building, amounting to c. 490m². Both phases of fieldwork have been reported in full (FAS 2003; FAS 2006), and paper and digital copies of reports deposited with the City of York Council. The reports with full specialist reports are also available online via the OASIS website (<http://ads.ahds.ac.uk/project/oasis>).

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SEQUENCE

The archaeological remains have been assigned to six periods (Table 1), based primarily on ceramic dating and stratigraphic relationships (Fig. 2). The site was not deeply stratified, and many of the pre-medieval features had been truncated severely



Fig. 1 Site location and position of evaluation trenches and area excavation

Period	Date	Activity
1	2nd to early 3rd century	Boundary features and dumping of domestic waste
2	3rd century	Trackway and possible funerary deposits
3	late 3rd to 4th century	Inhumation burials and disuse of trackway
4	11th to 13th century	Tofts and associated boundaries
5	16th to 18th century	Horticultural soils, levelling deposits
6	19th to 20th century	Corporation Yard and associated buildings

Table 1. Periods of activity

and disturbed by later activity, resulting in high levels of residuality and intrusion detectable within the ceramic assemblage. Features were therefore assigned to periods following detailed consideration of artefactual assemblages, stratigraphic relationships and spatial arrangement, a full account of which can be found in the field report (FAS 2006). The most significant evidence from the site relates to the changing organisation of the site during the Roman period.

PERIOD 1 - ROMAN (2nd to early 3rd century)

Period 1, dated to the 2nd to early 3rd century, was not well-represented by surviving features, and was defined largely by the large assemblage of ceramic material of this date. Fifty one sherds of pottery were recovered from Period 1 features, with diagnostic types represented by Nene Valley Colour-Coated ware beakers, East Gaulish Samian (Dr 44) and a jar in unidentified Samian (Dr 72). As a whole, the pottery indicated a date not before AD 150, and no types dated to after the mid-3rd century. The range of forms is broad, and no imbalance was noted, which suggested that the deposits could have derived from domestic debris similar to that found on sites throughout York and its suburbs.

Additionally, a large quantity of 2nd to 3rd century pottery occurred residually in later features, and as such, is assumed to have derived from layers or dumps through which these had been cut. Such deposits had generally been truncated by medieval activity, although three layers possibly representing buried soils of this date were encountered at the eastern edge of the site (C1174, C1175, C1073), preserved beneath medieval ploughsoil where the ground sloped downwards. Context 1073, which was encountered during the evaluation, represented a peaty deposit, indicating that at the eastern part of the site was naturally waterlogged at least until the Roman period.

Six features were assigned to Period 1, consisting of two lengths of shallow ditch (F32 and F59), and a number of small, irregular scoops or postholes (F35, F41, F51, F52). All were identified against subsoil, and had been truncated by later activity. The two linear features, F32 and F59, appeared to represent the same rectilinear ditch, which crossed the site on a SW-NE alignment, before curving toward the northwest and butt-ending. An alignment of smaller, irregular scoops continued across the trench to the northwest, and has been interpreted as the possible remnants of an undulating, linear feature, which had been severely truncated by later activity.

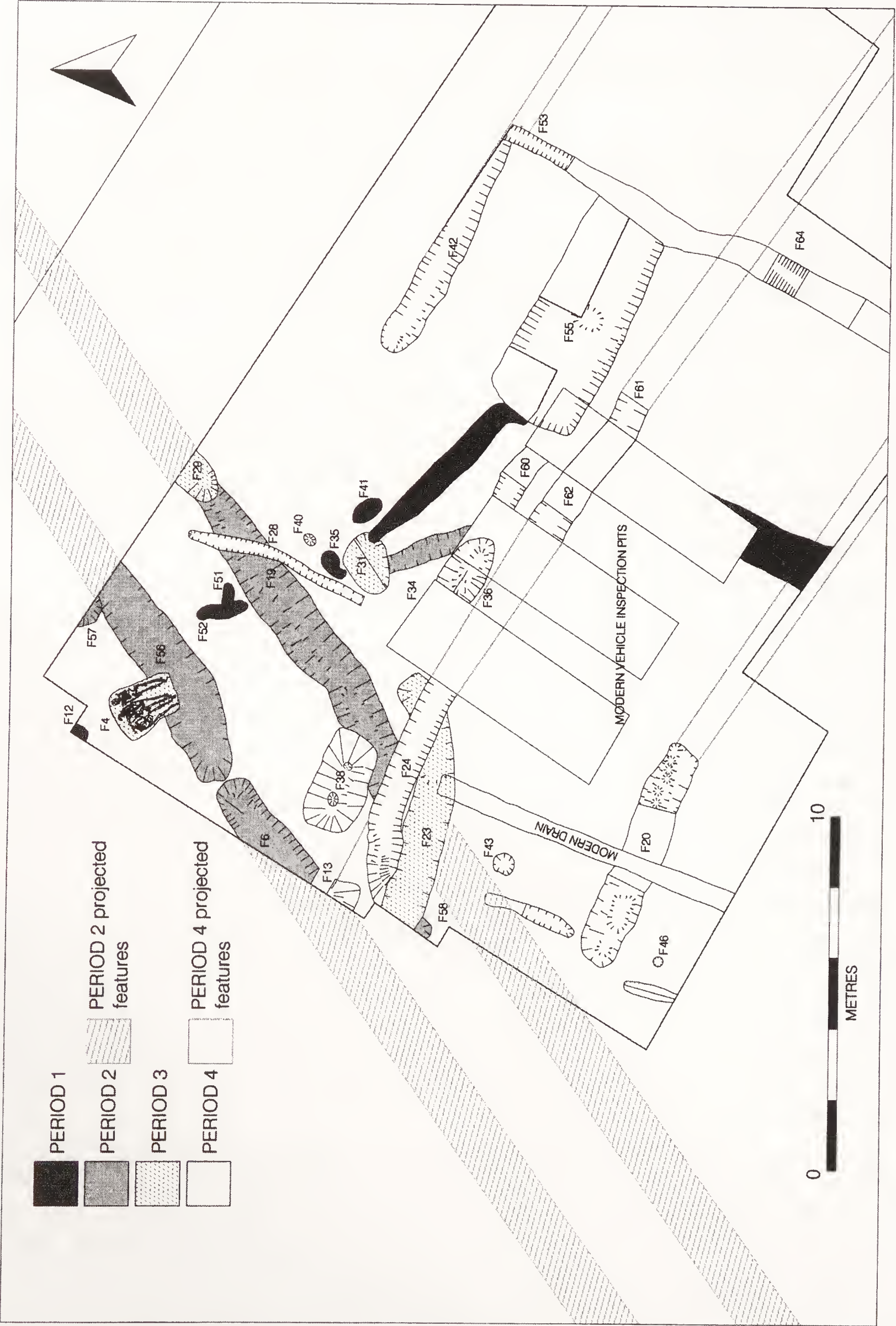


Fig. 2 Phase plan

PERIOD 2 - ROMAN (mid-3rd century)

Period 2 was assigned a mid-3rd century date, on the basis of ceramic evidence and stratigraphic relationships with Period 1 and 3 features. The earlier boundaries appeared to have fallen into disuse, and a number of linear features were established on an approximate NE-SW orientation in the northern part of the site. Two butt-ending features (F6 and F56) ran parallel to a similar ditch (F19) at a distance of between 2.1m and 2.6m. Together, these features are interpreted as delimiting a trackway.

Period 2 deposits produced a similar range of wares to Period 1 features, being a total of 456 sherds, and occasional intrusive sherds of medieval pottery. Nene Valley Colour-Coated wares were the most common in this assemblage (109 sherds), representing a notable frequency of indented beakers with rouletting, inverted scale decoration and white barbotine. In addition, a range of finds was recovered, at least some of which might be considered votive in character, including a fragment of lead model cart (Fig. 3 (1, 2)), sherds of unusual high-status Roman glass, a high-lead copper alloy mount (Fig. 3 (3)), and the remains of a number of horses, in addition to butchery waste from cattle, pig and caprovid.

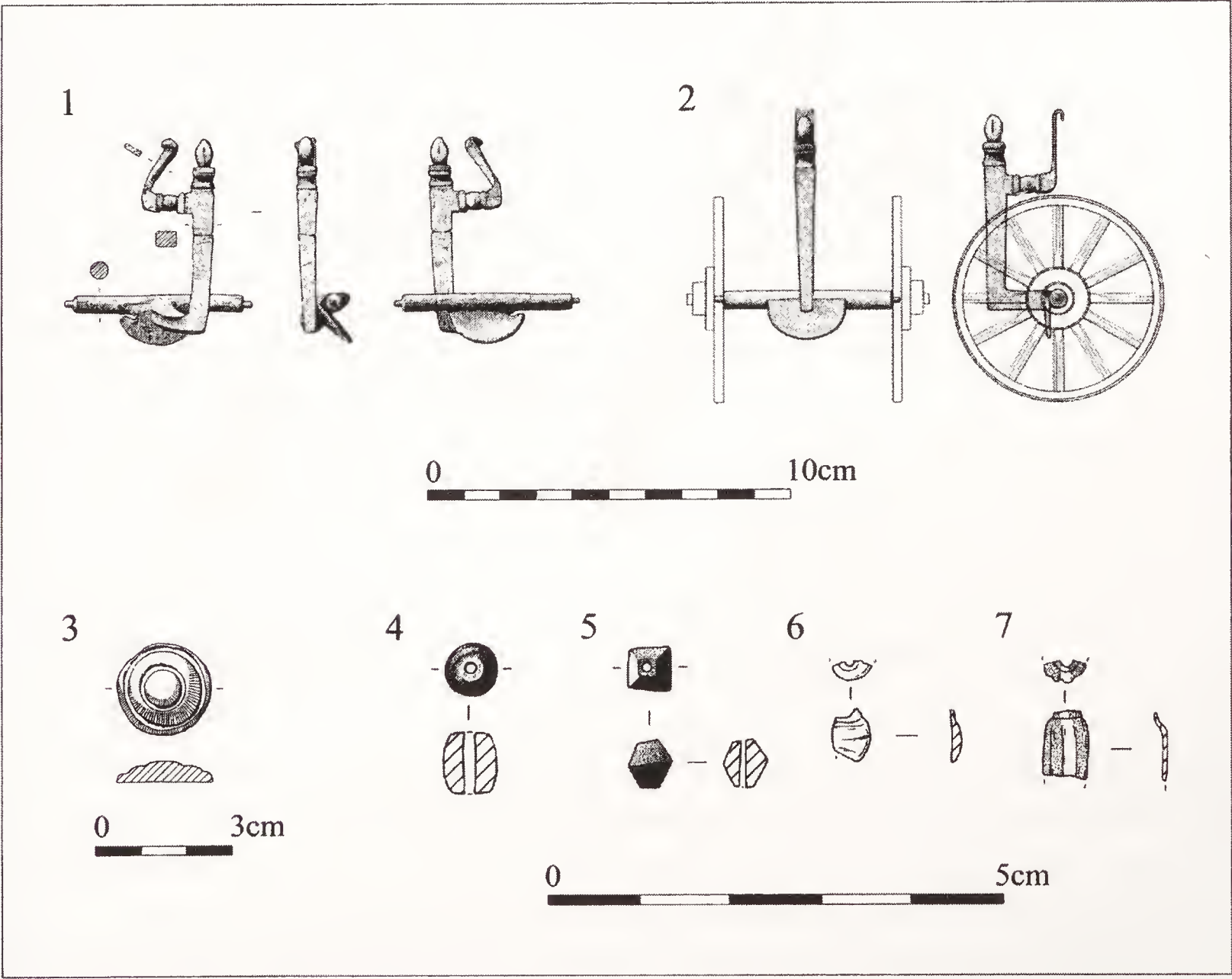


Fig. 3 Roman finds from Moss Street (1) lead fragment of a model cart from F6 C1038 and its (2) reconstruction (3) copper alloy mount (4) jet bead from F23 C1159 (5) jet bead from F29 C1112 (6) glass bead from F24 C1119 (7) glass bead from F36 C1120 (Illustration R. Jackson)

PERIOD 3 - ROMAN (late 3rd to 4th century)

Period 3, dated to the later 3rd to 4th century, saw the disuse of the trackway, and two sequential inhumation burials cut into the northern ditch (Fig. 4). These burials have been assigned to the later 3rd to 4th century, on the basis of their stratigraphic relationship with the trackway, and the presence of late 3rd century ceramic within their backfills. The earlier burial (Burial 1: F49 C1142) consisted of a single inhumation, aligned NW-SE, which had been truncated by the second burial (Burial 2) which overlay it directly. The surviving remains consisted of the lower legs of a supine adult inhumation, possibly male; a (his) skull had been placed over the feet. Due to truncation by the second interment, it was not clear whether the skull belonged to this individual, although a vertebra found within the backfill of the overlying grave, which showed signs of decapitation, seems highly likely to have originated from the earlier grave.

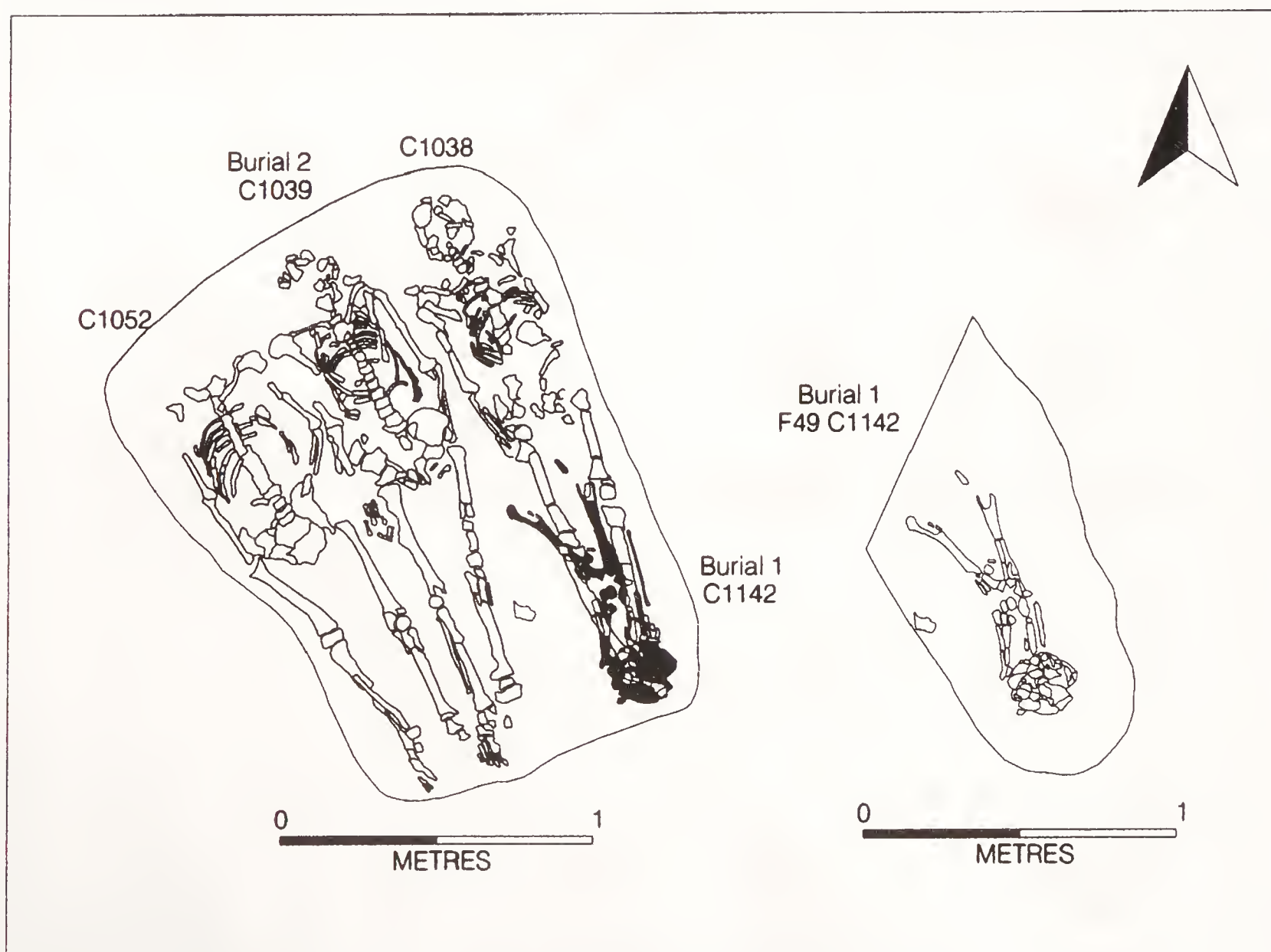


Fig. 4 Burial 1 (F49 C1142) and Burial 2 (F4 C1038 C1039 C1052)

Burial 2 was a triple inhumation (F4 C1038, C1039, C1052), contacted initially during evaluation, and excavated fully during mitigation excavation. Three individuals were buried side-by-side in a supine extended position, again on a NW-SE alignment, directly over Burial 1. All were identified as male, with two skeletons (C1038 and C1052) identified as between 26 and 35 years of age, and a third being slightly older, between 36 and 45 years of age. Notably, vertebrae from two of the three individuals (C1038 and C1039) showed signs of decapitation.

The inhumation burials may have been contemporary with a curving ditch to the southeast (F23), and two pits (F29 and F31), which appear to form a curvilinear alignment around the burials (see Fig. 2). Finds of Calcite-Tempered ware and Crambeck ware suggested that F23 was backfilled some time after the late 3rd to 4th century. A jet bead of Roman date was recovered (Fig. 3 (4)), with fragments of Roman glass. A further faceted jet bead of likely late 3rd to 4th century date was recovered from pit F29 (Fig. 3 (5)). The presence of Crambeck ware also suggested a 4th century date for this feature. The second pit, F31, also produced ceramic indicative of a 4th century date. Glass beads of Roman date were found residually in medieval features, including a wound glass bead of semi-opaque light-greenish-blue glass (Fig. 3 (6)) and a long hexagonal ribbed bead of green translucent glass and opaque yellow marvered inlay (Fig. 3 (7)).

PERIOD 4 - MEDIEVAL (11th to 13th century)

Following the backfilling of Period 3 features, no further evidence for activity on the site was recovered until the 11th to 13th century. Two sherds of 9th to 10th century pottery were found residually in post-medieval contexts.

Period 4 deposits produced 879 fragments of pottery, of which the majority represented residual Roman material. The remaining 276 sherds point to a peak of activity in the late 12th century, and features assigned this period were characterised by linear ditches, running parallel across the site on a WNW-ESE alignment (F24=F61=F62, F42, F20), delimiting a series of linear plots approximately 6m wide. Some of these features, including F20 and F42, showed signs of possible postholes, perhaps indicating fences or palisades demarcating boundaries. A medieval ploughsoil was evidenced prior to the establishment of the ditches, and continued to accumulate throughout the medieval period, suggesting that land was used for horticultural or agricultural activity.

Perpendicular subdivision of these plots was represented by shallow gullies (F53, F64, F65, F40, F28, F43, F46), and a series of pits and postholes running parallel to ditch F24 (F36, F38), may have further delineated the property boundaries, or represented the deposition of waste along the edges of plots. Although no structural evidence was encountered, the ceramic and zooarchaeological assemblages point to occupation and domestic activity in the vicinity. The large rectilinear pit (F38) to the north of the site produced the smashed remains of a near-complete York Splashed ware jug. A larger, more substantial feature was represented by F55, which measured 6.60m x 2.80m, also running parallel to the property boundaries. The various backfills produced a significant assemblage of animal bone, medieval roof tile and Roman and medieval pottery.

PERIOD 5 AND PERIOD 6

Into the post-medieval period, very little evidence for activity was encountered. During the evaluation, a ditch of possible post-medieval date was contacted, but generally, little activity was indicated by the ceramic assemblage, and it is presumed that continued build-up of horticultural soils continued. Evidence suggested that

the site remained undeveloped until the 19th century, when a large brick-built structure and vehicle inspection pits were constructed at the site.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

PERIOD 1 - DOMESTIC DUMPING

The archaeological features assigned to Period 1 were not substantial, but suggested the possible demarcation of boundaries in an area that may have been occupied partly by marshy ground. The ceramic profile of this period suggested that, during the 2nd and early 3rd century, this area was used for dumping domestic waste from the *colonia*. Deposition of this rubbish may have been undertaken in part to reclaim otherwise waterlogged ground.

Similar evidence for dumping of this date has been recorded in the nearby excavations at Driffeld Terrace (Hunter-Mann 2006), suggesting that this activity might have been widespread along the road leading southwest from the city, prior to the use of specific areas for burial.

PERIOD 2 - INTRA-CEMETERY TRACKWAY

From the 2nd century onwards, the Roman road leading southwest from the city, as other approach roads, is known to have been the focus for burial. Since the initial synthesis undertaken by the Royal Commission (RCHM 1962), numerous evaluations and watching briefs have revealed evidence for Roman burials and funerary monuments throughout the Mount area (Wenham 1968; MAP 1991; OSA 2002; YAT 2005; FAS 2005; Hunter-Mann 2006).

Prior to the onset of the Period 3 burials, no direct evidence for funerary activity was encountered at the Moss Street site, although evidence from the surrounding area indicates that the cemetery was well-established by this time. At Driffeld Terrace, for example, inhumations have been dated to the 2nd or early 3rd century (Hunter-Mann 2006), while the larger excavations at Trentholme Drive suggested intensive use during the 2nd and 3rd, and continuing into the 4th century. It seems possible, therefore, that the trackway assigned to Period 2 served an intra-cemetery function, and was established as burials extended into this area of the Mount. A hiatus of pottery deposition in the mid-3rd century may relate to this period of change, as emphasis shifted from domestic dumping to funerary activity.

If projected, the track ran roughly parallel to the main route of the Roman road, and would have provided a thoroughfare through the cemetery, punctuated possibly by upstanding memorials and burial features. The track may have skirted the limits of the cemetery at this time, with the still-marshy ground providing a natural boundary for burial.

Association of the trackway with funerary activity is suggested further by the nature of objects deposited within the ditches and occurring residually in later features. The presence of disarticulated human bone in F19 indicates that some inhumation had occurred in the vicinity. The ceramic profile, in particular, indicated a change in the type of activity on represented; a higher proportion of beakers was noted among the 3rd century assemblage, and may suggest a move towards more votive activity and deposition.

The presence of a fragment of lamp chimney (Fig. 5 (2)) and a fragment of pipeclay figurine (Fig. 5 (3)) may also point to religious activity. High status and rare glass vessels, with a lack of more everyday glass, may also indicate a very specific function, possibly associated with feasting or votive deposits; the presence of a lead model cart may also have votive significance. The importance of the horse carcasses among the animal bone assemblage is equivocal; zooarchaeological analysis has indicated that these carcasses, presumed to have been deposited whole and showing no signs of butchery, were found amongst more domestic butchery waste, and have been suggested to represent Roman 'fly tipping' in a marginal area. Given the high degree of mixing on the site, however, and the possibility that much of the domestic waste derived from earlier periods, the horse carcasses may have been deposited deliberately in a cemetery context. Together, the artefactual evidence indicates a change in activity on this site in the mid-3rd century, with a clear shift from domestic dumping towards votive offering and routes which may have served the cemetery.

PERIOD 3 - INHUMATION BURIALS

By the later 3rd or 4th century, burials encroached onto the site itself, and the trackway had been disused. The site of Burials 1 and 2 may have been of particular significance, and possibly enclosed by ditches and pits; the juxtaposition of the inhumations directly over one another in an area that is not otherwise densely occupied by burials would suggest a specific focus for burial (Fig. 4).

In terms both of dating and burial rite, these burials can be compared directly to recent discoveries in the area. The chronological evidence compares with nearby archaeological interventions, such as the Lion and Lamb public house, approximately 100m to the northwest (YAT Gazetteer 1989-90.21), where 21 of 31 inhumations were assigned to the 4th century or later. Likewise, recent investigations by York Archaeological Trust at 6 Driffeld Terrace have suggested that burial occurred mainly in the later 3rd to 4th century (Hunter-Mann 2006).

The evidence for decapitation, evidenced in two, possibly three, of the four burials invites comparison with the recent discoveries at Driffeld Terrace, where a high proportion of burials at two sites (numbers 3 and 6 Driffeld Terrace), have been shown to be adult males with signs of decapitation. The burials at 6 Driffeld Terrace have been assigned to the later 3rd or 4th century, which might suggest that the burials at Moss Street conform to a trend evidenced in the wider cemetery on the Mount.

The significance of this rite is uncertain, and a number of reasons for Roman decapitation have been proposed; decapitation may have provided a means of judicial execution or represented death in conflict. Alternatively, the rite may have been undertaken post-mortem, as a means of dishonouring the dead, preventing the dead from walking, sacrificial ritual, or to prevent the return of the soul (Philpott 1991, 84-87). The high proportion of burials of this type on the Mount area, and the fact that these burials appear to have been undertaken with care, occurring within a well-established cemetery, would suggest that they do not necessarily represent deviants or lower status individuals. As with other examples in urban cemeteries (for example, Anderson 2001), a plausible interpretation might be that the Moss Street

burials, with those in the surrounding area, were decapitated as means of participating in a sacrificial ritual that was gaining currency during the later Roman period.

PERIOD 4 - MEDIEVAL TOFTS

Many Roman deposits and features encountered in this area showed signs of having been truncated by medieval activity, and the results of excavations at the Moss Street Depot followed this trend. Features assigned to this period describe the demarcation of linear plots across the site, regularly spaced at c.6m wide, and apparently extending across the whole area of investigation. Running roughly perpendicular to the route of the Mount, the distance from the road (c.70m) suggests lengthy strips, possibly extending towards a second lane which lead south from Nunnery Lane (medieval Baggergate), and served as a predecessor to Scarcoft Lane.

The tofts may indicate that Scarcroft Lane served as a 'back lane' which would suggest that the evidence for activity at Moss Street related to activity at the rear of properties. The lack of structural evidence, and the accumulation of soils would indicate that this was open ground, used for crops, vegetables or orchards; the medieval name for Blossom Street has been interpreted as 'Plouswayngate' or 'Ploughman's Street' (Raine 1955, 312), which may indicate an area occupied by those employed for agricultural purposes. Roberts (1990, 114) cites parallels for the division of plots by wicket fences, while the presence of rubbish pits along property boundaries is paralleled at contemporary 11th century sites such as Milk Street, Cheapside (Schofield and Vince 2003, 80). The ceramic evidence pointed to occupation in the vicinity, and dwellings might be expected to have occupied the frontages of the plots.

CONCLUSION

The evidence encountered during the investigation of the Moss Street Depot site has charted the use of land in this area from the Roman period to the modern day. Much of what has been encountered related well to the known history of the area; evidence for the Roman cemetery is widespread, and documentary evidence recounted by scholars such as Raine (1955) indicate the presence of tofts and large areas of open land. The large area of the excavation has, however, allowed the layout of this property to be outlined in greater detail; the phased activity within the cemetery is frequently only represented by the burials, and the evidence for a trackway has demonstrated more about the infrastructure of the cemetery during this period. Evidence for decapitation adds to the growing corpus of such burials on the Mount, and also demonstrates that this is not a pattern exclusively focused on Driffeld Terrace, but may be part of a wider funerary trend within the cemetery. Into the medieval period, the evidence from the Moss Street Depot allows property divisions to be outlined, in an area where the medieval period is normally detected archaeologically only by ploughsoil.

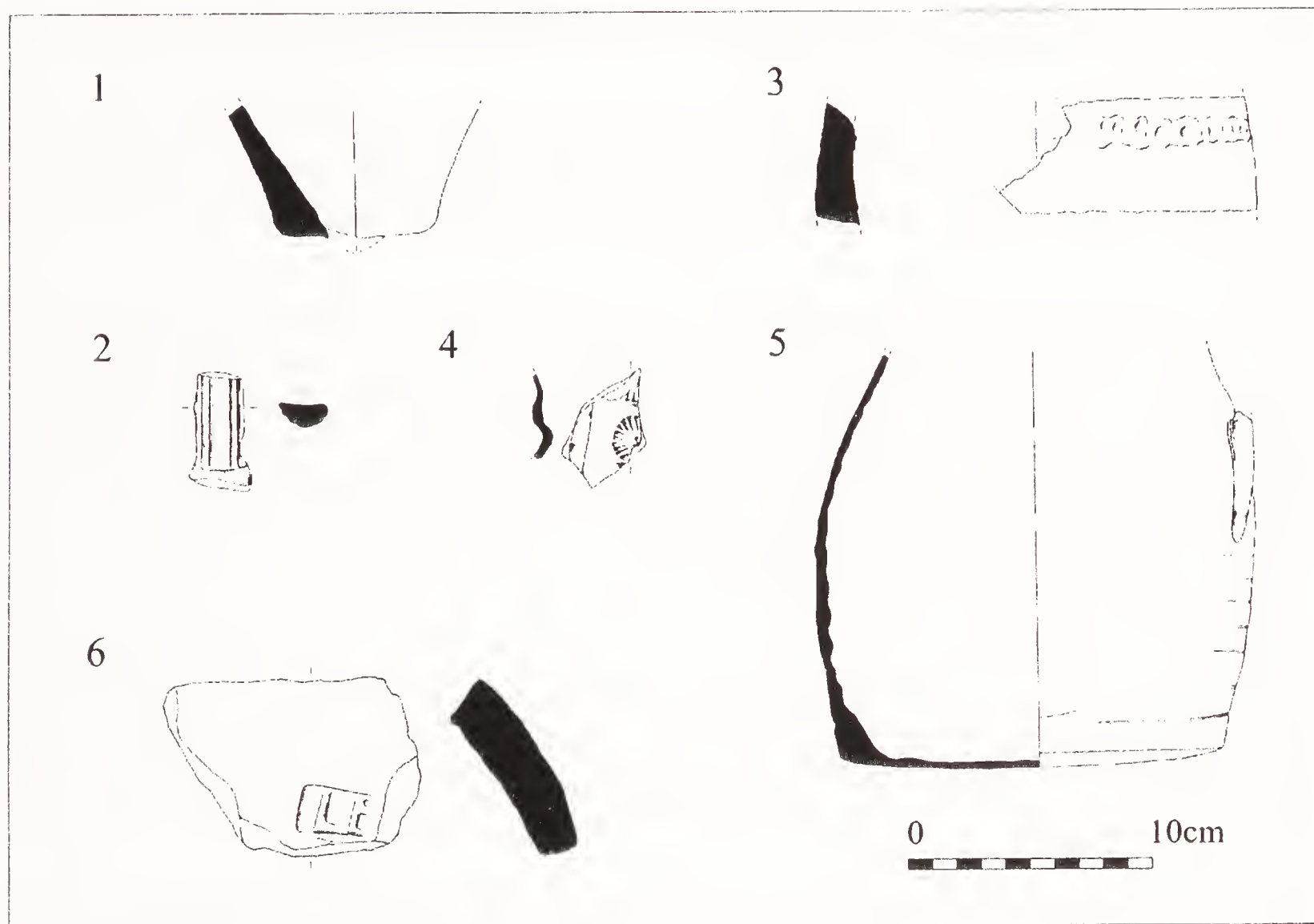


Fig. 5 Roman and medieval ceramics from Moss Street (Illustration R. Jackson)

THE FINDS

The following reports summarise more detailed specialist analyses. All specialist reports are available in full in FAS 2006.

THE ROMAN TO MEDIEVAL POTTERY by Dr Alan Vince and Kate Steane

The pottery was assigned to ware types based on the schema used by Monaghan for the Roman period (Monaghan 1993; 1997) and Holdsworth, Brooks and Mainman for the Anglo-Scandinavian and later (Holdsworth 1978; Brooks 1987; Mainman 1993).

THE ROMAN POTTERY

Most of the pottery found is of types described in detail by Monaghan. Exceptions include sherds of amphora (YATAA, Fig. 5 (1)), which have been examined in thin section and using chemical analysis (fabric codes refer to those detailed in Monaghan 1997). These analyses suggest that several sherds come from a globular amphora, similar in size and shape to Dressel 20, but whose fabric suggests a south-eastern English or north-eastern Gaulish origin. Although no direct comparison has been made, the fabric is consistent with an origin in the Colchester area, where amphorae are known to have been produced. The other amphora type studied is probably a

Chalk 6 amphora, also known as Peacock and Williams Class 50 and Augst class 53 (Tomber & Dore 1998, P&W AM 50).

Very little of the Samian was identified to even broad source groups. Types datable to the early 2nd century were present. Most of the diagnostic pieces were Samian vessels (Dr 18/31; Dr 27 and Dr 67) which fell from popularity in the mid-2nd century.

Most of the Roman pottery, however, is of types typical of the later 2nd and early 3rd century (Fig. 5 (2,3)) and most of this pottery is of types produced at York itself (Eboracum ware B YATE1, YATE7 and YATW1, mortaria (YATM3 and YATM4)); local greyware B YATG1, and local burnished greyware B B3). These vessels include a few types which are thought to show North African influence and are consequently dated to the early 3rd century (platters and head pots)(Fig.5 (4)).

Non-local and imported pottery of later 2nd to 3rd century date includes Brockley Hill and Verulamium-region mortaria (YATM15); Northern French mortaria (YATM11-12); Mancetter-Hartshill mortaria (YATM14), Dressel 20 amphorae (including one with a fine textured fabric characteristics of the latest products) and some Nene Valley Colour-Coated wares (YATC1 to C3) and Dorset Black-Burnished wares (YATB1) as well as a range of Samian vessels (Dr 31; Dr 32; Dr 33; Dr 37; Dr 45; Dr 68; Dr 72; and Curle 23).

Mid- to late 3rd century pottery is represented by Dales-type Shelly ware (YATH1), but only five sherds of this fabric were recorded, of which only one is definitely from a Dales ware jar. However, Nene Valley folded beakers with scale decoration, which are at least partly contemporary with Dales Shelly ware, were common. Six sherds of Knapton jars in Calcite-tempered ware fabric were present. This is a later 3rd-century to early 4th-century type. This seems to suggest that there was a hiatus in pottery deposition during the mid-3rd century.

Fourth century pottery consisted of Crambeck Greyware (YATB12) and the remaining Calcite-tempered ware (YATK0), including a late 4th-century Huntcliff jar.

The range of forms present includes vessels used for food preparation and cooking, drinking, and dining. In addition, a number of amphora sherds were present. Most of the sherds are of Dressel 20 globular amphora, produced in the Guadalquivir valley and used mainly as containers for olive oil, and Gauloise amphora (YATAP27-30) produced in northern Gaul and probably used mainly as wine containers. However, the collection also contained single examples of Peacock and Williams Classes 13 and 50 amphora (Peacock and Williams 1986) also known as Liparian amphora and Richborough 527; three sherds of a single Chalk 6 type; a coarse Baetican cylindrical amphora; vessels with black sand inclusions (probably from central Italy) and a group of 16 sherds of an unidentified amphora type, noted above (YATAA), shown by thin section and chemical analysis to be of south-eastern English or northwestern Gaulish origin. These sherds might come from a single vessel, although no joining sherds were found despite being searched for. The fabric is a red-firing calcareous clay, with a salt surface and contains sparse rounded polished quartz grains. The vessel, or vessels, was globular and similar in thickness,

manufacture and surface treatment to Dressel 20 globular amphorae but no featured sherds were present.

A wide range of forms were represented in the collection. Where these could be assigned a specific Monaghan form code these have been used, but in the main the sherds could only be identified broadly to a form class. Although it is difficult to separate all of the pottery into chronological groups (and there is a huge amount of mixing and residuality, so this cannot be done stratigraphically), there is a clear difference in the character of the 2nd/early 3rd century and the later 3rd century pottery. The former consists of a range of vessel types, while the latter consists mainly of beakers and jars. To some extent, this followed the general pattern of pottery use in York, but it seems that there is indeed an over-representation of beakers on the site. Given that the area was used for burial it is possible that this concentration is related to rituals such as funeral feasts and the giving of libations to the dead.

ANGLO-SCANDINAVIAN

Two sherds of Anglo-Scandinavian York ware (YORKA) were recorded. Recent thin-section and chemical analysis of vessels from Fishergate shows that it was produced in West Yorkshire, including Thorner (Vince 2004). Both sherds come from jars. This ware was produced in the late 9th and early 10th century but was in decline in York, if indeed it was still being used, in the mid-/late 10th century. Both were unstratified (C1100) and there is therefore a possibility that they were brought onto the site as a result of earthmoving activities at a much later period. However, a similar small collection of late 9th to early 10th-century wares was noted by the authors on another recent site in the Mount area.

MEDIEVAL

Three hundred and eleven sherds of medieval pottery, representing no more than two hundred and sixty-one vessels were recorded. The most common type was York Gritty ware, which was current between the mid-11th and the mid 13th century. However, in most contexts where this ware was found there were also sherds of York Splashed ware (YSP), and York Glazed ware (YORK) mostly from jugs. This suggests that most occupation actually took place in the later 12th century (Splashed ware was not used in the 13th century).

Later 13th- to 15th-century wares were rare (BRAN, HUM). Northern Gritty ware and Red Sandy ware were also identified, but neither type is capable of close dating at present.

CONCLUSIONS

The pottery suggests that the earliest activity on the site took place at some time between c.150 and c.250AD and that the majority of the pottery found during the excavation was deposited on the site during this period. Although some vessels have possibly religious associations (such as the pipeclay figurine, Fig. 5 (3), and the lamp-chimney, Fig. 5 (2)) there is wide range of forms represented in this assemblage and it is more likely that the pottery is mostly domestic refuse, perhaps originating in the colonia and dumped on the site prior to the establishment of a cemetery in the area.

Species		Period 1	Period 2	Period 3	Total
Canis f. domestic	dog	-	25	3	28
Equus f. domestic	horse	2	118	3	123
Sus f. domestic	pig	-	11	11	22
Cervus elaphus L.	red deer	-	2	-	2
Bos f. domestic	cow	1	77	22	100
Caprovid	sheep/goat	-	19	6	25
Ovis f. domestic	sheep	-	1	1	2
Capra f. domestic	goat	-	1	-	1
Gallus f. domestic	chicken	-	3	-	3
unidentified bird		-	2	-	2
Amphibian		-	5	9	14
Fish		-	2	2	4
Subtotal		3	266	57	326
large mammal		1	298	68	367
medium mammal 1		-	29	21	50
medium mammal 2		-	1	5	6
unidentified		5	810	377	1192
Subtotal		6	1138	471	1615
Total		9	1404	528	1941

Table 2. Vertebrate remains by period

There is then an apparent gap in deposition, corresponding to the period of currency of Dales-type Shelly ware, followed by the backfill of the Period 2 ditches during the later 3rd or early 4th century. Little pottery was deposited on the site during Period 3, when the site was used for inhumation burials.

With the exception of two sherds of later 9th to mid-10th-century York A ware, which were found in a residual context in Period 4, the next major phase of pottery deposition took place in the later 12th century, continuing into the early 13th century. This pottery is associated with ploughing, but shows little sign of the heavy abrasion found in modern field scatters and includes some smashed vessels. It is likely therefore that this agricultural phase was relatively short-lived. A small quantity of pottery was deposited on the site in pits and other features in the later 14th century or later but almost all the post-medieval and pottery from the excavation was found intruding into medieval and earlier deposits.

THE ANIMAL BONE by Deborah Jaques

Most of the vertebrate assemblage was recovered from the fills of the Period 2 ditches and from Feature 4, the triple inhumation assigned to Period 3. Preservation was rather variable throughout, with much fresh breakage as a consequence of the fragile nature of much of the bone. Of interest were the concentrations of horse bones in the Period 2 ditch fills, in particular the probable part skeletons recovered from Feature 6. These remains were not thought to be of ritual significance, however. There was no evidence either to suggest that the horse remains were associated with the triple inhumation. The horse bones in the ditch deposits probably represent the remains of animals dumped as a result of Roman 'fly tipping'.

Most of the non-equine remains from both Periods 2 and 3 (there being too few fragments from Period 1 for comment) appeared to represent primary butchery waste and refuse from secondary butchering activities, such as kitchen and consumption waste.

THE ROMAN GLASS by H.E.M. Cool

The Vessels

The excavations at this site produced a small assemblage of 14 fragments of Roman vessel glass which shows some rather strange features. With the exception of nos. 7 and 10, both from the Period 4 ploughsoil, all the fragments were colourless. Where these colourless fragments can be dated they all belong to the later 2nd and 3rd century and are thus contemporary with the Period 2 occupation. The unusual features are that there is no everyday blue/green glass, that where the forms can be identified they are all tablewares and that they include several rare items. At this period utilitarian blue/green glass normally pre-dominates in assemblages, yet here this is only represented by a single fragment from a prismatic bottle (Price and Cottam 1998, 194-200). This fragment (no. 10 from the ploughsoil) is untypical in that it shows evidence of being deliberately flaked to a sharp edge and so should probably be seen as having been deliberately re-used to form a tool. Other than this anomalous fragment, the assemblage gives every impression of having been derived from a high status site.

The fragments are often rather small and so secure identifications are not always possible. It seems very likely, however, that the rim fragment no. 1 and the thickened base fragment from the ploughsoil (no. 8) came from hemispherical cups with fire-thickened rims (Price and Cottam 1998, 112) which were the dominant cup form of the middle parts of the 3rd century. A jug is represented by the handle fragment

no. 2. It clearly had a ribbed body and the features it exhibits would be consistent with coming from the range of funnel-mouthed jugs of the later 2nd to 3rd century which were often made in colourless glass, but naturally the precise form cannot be suggested from this tiny fragment.

One of the most remarkable discoveries at the Moss Street Depot was also one of the smallest. No. 5 recovered from sieving a sample from the Period 3 fill of ditch F23 has small patches of opaque blue enamel and came, almost certainly, from a late 2nd/early 3rd century cylindrical cup painted with figured scenes normally depicting occurrences in the arena with scenes of gladiator fights and wild animals. These cups are not at all common and are generally found in the frontier regions of the north-western provinces and beyond (Le Maho and Sennequier 1996). In Britain they are found overwhelmingly in the north of the province and two examples are now known to have reached the Shetland Isles (Cool 2003, 142). York has produced large quantities of vessel glass of the 2nd and 3rd century, but this is only the second fragment of such a painted cup to have been recovered from the city. The other was recovered from excavations at 1-9, Micklegate in 1989 (unpublished).

Normally base fragments are not particularly diagnostic and this is true of the fragment no. 6, but no. 4 has possible traces of post-technique scars. This is a distinctive and relatively uncommon way of holding the vessel while it is removed from the blowing iron. It is not possible to be totally certain that the small scars seen on the base here did originate in this way as the base ring is broken, and they may have been part of that damage, but it seems likely that they are indeed post-technique scars. The combination of this technique, the trailed base ring and the bubbly glass that is more akin to the bubbly glass of the 4th century, than the high quality bubble-free glass of the later 2nd to 3rd century, suggests this vessel might be slightly later than the other colourless fragments. A similar combination of features is seen on two funnel-mouthed flasks with indented bodies found at Colchester, one of them from a grave dating to the end of the 3rd /beginning of the 4th century (Cool and Price 1995, 155 nos. 1188-89). This is a rare form and it is of some interest that the only other example known also came from York (Rougier Street, unpublished). No. 6 came from the upper fill of the Phase 2 ditch F56, so the later 3rd century date would not be inconsistent with its context.

The final two fragments to be discussed are even more puzzling. The small rim fragment no. 3 appears to come from a cylindrical vessel with a rim bent in so that the rim aperture is smaller than the body diameter. This is a feature found on a rare 4th century form, the hole-mouthed flask (Isings 1957 form 131), a pair of which was found in an inhumation grave in the North Railway Station cemetery in York (Roach Smith 1880, 174-7; Harden 1962, 140, fig. 90; see also Hartley, Hawkes, Henig and Mee 2006, fig.109a). These, however, tend to be made in the typical greenish colourless bubbly glass of the 4th century, and not the good quality colourless glass of no. 3. At present all that can be said of no. 3 is that it is an oddity.

In many ways the deep blue vessel from the plough soil (no. 7) is unproblematic. It is a cast vessel in deeply coloured glass, and overwhelmingly such vessels belong to the late Republican and early Imperial periods. In the context of York in general and this site in particular, such an attribution is unsatisfactory. As has been shown,

for such a small assemblage the vessel glass from the Moss Street Depot shows a remarkably consistent late 2nd and 3rd century date. There is nothing that need be mid-2nd century, let alone mid-1st century. In general cast vessels, other than pillar moulded bowls, were going out of use during the mid-1st century; and cast vessels other than those made in colourless glass are rare on sites founded in the early Flavian period. York is no exception to this rule. At the fortress site at 9, Blake Street which had a large assemblage dating from the earliest years of the occupation onwards, monochrome cast vessels were represented by only two fragments (Cool *et al.* 1995, 1564). At the Minster excavations there was only one (Price 1995, 353 no. 7). At St Mary's Abbey the small but very distinctive glass assemblage which suggests pre-fortress military occupation did not have any fragments of this type of glass (Cool 1998). Against this background the recovery of a relatively large fragment of mid-1st century or earlier glass on this site seems unlikely.

Other features of the fragment itself also argue against such an early date. It is made of translucent deep blue glass, whereas most monochrome mid-1st century cast vessels in Britain, including fragments from Blake Street and the Minster, are made of emerald green glass. Most monochrome cast vessels in Britain do not combine curved lower body fragments and base rings. This combination is known in the early cast industries but generally on relatively small cups of a similar shape to the Samian cup form Dr. 27. These are very rare in Britain and had probably gone out of use by the time of the Conquest in AD 43. They are also much smaller vessels than no. 7.

It has recently become apparent that an Egyptian industry continued to make vessels in the cast tradition, long after the rest of the Roman world had abandoned the technique and adopted blowing (see for example Hill and Nenna 2003, 88; Nenna 2003, 93-4). This tradition stretches into the 5th century AD at the least and currently the later products have been identified as being of mosaic glass. At present this later cast tradition is not well understood, but there does seem to be the distinct probability that in no. 7 we are looking at one of its products. If this is correct, it would fit both the date of the rest of the glass and would continue the assemblage's theme of consisting of high class tablewares. It has to be said that in the 3rd century a glass bowl of this jewel-like colour would be a most unusual and distinctive possession, likely to belong to no average inhabitant of Roman York.

Catalogue

1. Cup, rim fragment. Colourless. Out-bent rim, edge fire rounded. Dimensions 18 x 12mm, wall thickness 2mm. 4 : F6 : C1036 : 446. Period 2.
2. Jug, handle fragment. Colourless. Tip of rounded lower handle attachment retaining small fragment of shoulder with two narrow vertical trails. Dimensions 25 x 14mm, wall thickness 1.5mm. 4 : F6 : C1036 : 447. Period 2.
3. Rim fragment. Colourless in-curved rim, edge fire-rounded; vertical side. Body diameter c. 60mm, wall thickness 2.5mm. 4 : F6 : C1036 : 445. Period 2.
4. Base fragment (4 joining). Slightly green-tinged colourless; small bubbles. Convex-curved lower body, pronounced concave base; trailed base ring with post

technique scars. Base diameter 50mm, wall thickness 2.5mm, present height 20mm.

4 : F6 : C1036 : 48. Period 2

5. Cup (?), body fragment. Colourless with two patches of opaque mid blue enamel, one with rounded edge. dimensions 16mm, 5.5mm. 6 : F23 : C1159 > 5mm res : 251. Period 3.

6. Base fragment. Colourless. Side curving into small concave base. Dimensions 17 x 10mm. 4 : F4 : C1040 : 50. Period 3.

7. Bowl; two joining lower body and base fragment. Deep blue; cast, surfaces ground and polished. Convex-curved lower body with very slight carination, base ring sloping out. Base diameter c. 90 - 100mm, wall thickness 3mm, present height 22mm. 6 : C1153 : 183. Period 4

8. Cup (?), base fragment. Colourless. Side curving into thickened base. Dimensions 18 x 17mm, wall thickness 3mm, base thickness 6mm. 6 : C1165 : 186. Period 4.

9. Body fragment; colourless. 6 : F24 : C1109 > 5mm Res. : 443. Period 4.

10 Prismatic bottle, body fragment. Blue/green. L-shaped fragment with inner angle deliberately grozed. Dimensions 37 x 31mm. 5 : C1071 : 66. Period 4.

Window glass

In addition to the vessels glass, five fragments of cast matt/glossy window glass were recovered. This was the typical vessel glass of the 1st to 3rd centuries.

Blue/green; retaining rounded edge. Area 18cm². 6: F56 : C1162 : 185. Period 2

Pale green. Area 7cm². 4: F6 : C1037 : 49. Period 2

Blue/green. Area 12cm². 4 : F6 : C1037 : 444. Period 2

Blue/green. Area 2cm². F6 : C1036 : 448. Period 2

Blue/green. Area 5cm². 6 : F55 : C1158 : 184. Period 4

THE CERAMIC BUILDING MATERIAL by Cecily Spall

An assemblage of ceramic building material (CBM) was submitted for assessment and full recording (389 fragments). The assemblage was dominated by Roman CBM, while the smaller proportion consisted of typical York forms of the medieval period. Both periods were represented mainly by roofing material, although a greater diversity of Roman forms was identified.

Roman CBM represented c. 71% of the assemblage and consisted principally of roof tile, tegulae and imbrices, although possible hypocaust brick, flue tile and chimney pot were also identified. By far the majority of the assemblage could only be assigned a Roman date, although several fragments of possible half box-flue tile suggested that at least some of the assemblage dated to the late 2nd century onwards. One fragment of imbrex displayed a partial legionary stamp (Fig. 5 (6)).

Approximately 28% of the assemblage was dateable to the medieval period. The earliest material in the assemblage was curved and flanged tile which is dated to the

11th to 13th century (Lewis 1987, 6; Betts 1985, 384) and which take a similar form to the Roman roofing system. Curved tile is an equivalent imbrex but is generally smaller and has a square peghole at the tapered end.

THE HUMAN BONE by Katie Tucker

The remains of four articulated individuals from the excavations at the site of the Moss Street Depot, York were analysed.

Preservation

The four burials lay entirely within the limits of the excavations, and were recovered in their entirety, although the remains were highly fragmented with loss and destruction of many elements, due to the fragility of the excavated bone. Preservation of bone surface however was good with much of the bone cortex surviving.

Catalogue of burials

The preservation, completeness, age, sex, stature and cranial index of each individual analysed, as well as any non-metric traits and pathologies observed, are catalogued below. The information is summarised in Table 3.

Although the burials from the Moss Street Depot site only represent four articulated individuals, and can therefore not be judged to be a representative sample of any population, it is interesting to note that all four of the individuals are male or possible male and that the three that could be assigned a more specific age at death are all in the middle adult category. The stature of the one individual that had sufficient preservation of the long bones to allow a calculation was 170cm, which is just above the average for males in the Romano-British period (Werner 1998).

A small number of pathological conditions were observed on the skeletal remains, and these are described in the burial catalogue. The fragmentary nature of the skeletons obviously restricts the number of pathologies that can be observed, and makes the differential diagnosis of some conditions more difficult as important skeletal elements are missing. However, some general observations can be made.

Dental disease is one of the most common pathologies observed in archaeological skeletons. However, no caries, abscesses or periodontal disease were observed on these skeletons. Calculus was observed on the teeth of the skeletons that had any

SK No.	Age	Sex	Non-metric traits	Pathology	Dentition	Stature
C1038	Young middle adult	M	Double superior atlas facets (left)	Calculus, Schmorl's Nodes, slight ectocranial porosity, button osteoma, cortical defects, decapitation	yes	170cm
C1039	Old middle adult	M	-	Calculus, Enamel Hypoplasia, Schmorl's Nodes, decapitation	yes	-
C1052	Young middle adult	M	-	-	no	-
C1142	Adult	?M	-	Sharp force cranial trauma	no	-

Table 3. Osteology summary

surviving dentition, which may reflect a lack of dental hygiene, but the lack of caries and abscesses suggests a diet low in sugars. One of the individuals also had enamel hypoplasia of some of his surviving teeth, which reflects periods of illness or malnutrition during childhood when the tooth crowns were forming.

Two of the skeletons exhibited Schmorl's Nodes. These are depressions in the vertebral bodies, which probably reflect herniation of material from the intervertebral discs, and which reflect pressure being put onto the back. One of the individuals also exhibited spondylolysis of the fifth lumbar vertebra. This is a non-united stress fracture of the vertebral arch, which again indicates some form of stress being placed onto the back.

One of the individuals exhibited a button osteoma on the mandible, which is a benign tumour, commonly seen among archaeological populations.

One of the individuals also displayed cortical defects of the attachment sites for muscles and ligaments of the humerus and clavicles. These are indicators of microtrauma at the sites of the muscle and ligament attachments, suggesting heavy and repetitive use of a particular muscle group or limb.

Finally, two of the individuals show evidence for decapitation, with cut marks on the cervical vertebrae. The cut marks were made with a very sharp and fine blade, and in both cases the cut had come from behind. The surfaces of the cuts do not show any evidence for healing and have a polished appearance, which indicates that they occurred during the peri-mortem period when the bone still had high collagen content. A third individual displayed a similar cut across a fragment of squamous temporal, indicating sharp force cranial trauma. On excavation, this individual was represented by the legs and a cranium placed on the feet, which would suggest decapitation. As noted in the burial catalogue, there is the possibility that the extra elements found with the skeleton of the burial above may belong to this individual. This may include a C5 vertebra which displays a very clear cut mark. Therefore, there is the possibility that three of the four individuals exhibit definite osteological evidence for peri-mortem decapitation, with one also showing peri-mortem sharp force cranial trauma. However, it is not possible to definitely attribute decapitation as the cause of death in any of these individuals.

In summary, the four individuals from the Moss Street Depot site are all middle adult males in generally good health, but with evidence for stress injuries of the back and heavy use of the arms and shoulders. Three of the four were decapitated from behind with a sharp fine blade around the time of death, before being buried in close proximity, although not contemporaneously.

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AN EARLY CARVED HEAD AND ANGLO-DANISH SCULPTURES AT KILDWICK CHURCH, NORTH YORKSHIRE

by John Billingsley



Fig. 1: (John Price)

In the tower of St Andrew's Church, Kildwick-in-Craven, North Yorkshire, is a carved stone head (Fig. 1) interpolated into the stonework above the main doorway. It is of a style not found elsewhere in the church, and would benefit from further investigation as to its age and provenance.

The head is approximately 45cm in height, with a width of 45-52cm; the narrowest portion is at the chin, and the widest at the top of the head. As it is built into the stonework above the tower doorway, the depth cannot at present be ascertained. The chin, though largely obscured by pointing, appears to be tapered. The stone is squared, possibly at a later date from its original execution, as there appears a possibility that hair and jaw features may have been more extensive.

The head is of a most unusual appearance and does not appear to accord with conventions familiar from mediaeval or later ecclesiastical architecture. Its closest parallel might lie in some of the cruder carved heads from the Romanesque period, such as at Adel, West Yorkshire. There are also no other carved heads of early date in the church fabric.

The lower part of the face is primarily marked by a semi-circular groove running from one side of the jaw to the other, over the area of the mouth. The mouth may be indicated by a rough depression below this groove. The groove runs to the edge of the stone and may, if the stone has been reduced in size, have once continued; it seems likely that this feature is intended to imply a moustache and possibly also a beard, though because of the schematic nature of the whole face, this should not be considered a fixed interpretation.

The upper part of the face is characterised by two eyes of a grotesque nature. They are crudely fashioned: the outer edges are circular grooves, within which the pupils are bulged out in a rough cone shape. The left eye is slightly damaged at the tip of the bulge, and there is also a smoothed depression at the top of the 'eyelid', which appears to be deliberate. The eyes are not horizontally aligned; the left eye is slumped below the axis of the right eye, and in such a way as to appear more pronounced when viewed diagonally from below, i.e. from a spectator standing at an appropriate distance below.

The middle of the face is thus delineated by the semi-circular groove of the lower face and the two grooves around the eye. A triangular space is left between them to imply a nose; no other attempt has been made to model the nose. This implied feature again appears more pronounced when viewed diagonally from below.

Other marks on the surface of the face appear to be the result of accidental damage.

The head appears in relatively new stonework above the tower doorway (of Norman date) and below the new stained glass window dating from the 19th century. It is incongruous with the surrounding stonework, both in height and type, and does not sit centrally above the doorway. Clearly the object has been found elsewhere and incorporated into the new stonework - which, it must be said, is disconcertingly incompetent or careless. Records show that the stonework was replaced when the tower window was installed in 1870. As a considerable amount of rubble infill would have been removed from the Norman stonework of the tower during installation of the window, it is a possibility that the stone head may have been found among the tower infill (but an alternative possibility would have been incorporation following 1901 restorations - see below). The whole face gives the impression of considerable age, and if indeed it were part of Norman infill that would of course indicate a prior date. The somewhat equivocal Christian status of the image itself, as discussed below, may indeed have led to use for infill, if that is the history of the head.

The roughly levelled base and crown suggest that the head may at one time have sat on a plinth of some kind - perhaps a pillar - with its chin jutting out over the edge of the plinth; and that additional stonework may have been placed above the head. This might imply a position of an arch springer; though, given the possibility of truncated features as described above, this may also be a secondary location. It is considered that this most unusual carving, which may be an 'archaic head'¹ (Billingsley, 1992, 1998) or an early grotesque, may well date from the pre-Norman period. It may have been used as infill, but if further investigation of the head should indicate (presumptive and possibly secondary) use as an arch springer, then that may suggest that at one time there stood on the site of Kildwick Church a stone, rather than wood, structure.

¹ 'Archaic head' is the term coined by John Billingsley in his MA thesis, 'Archaic Carved Heads in West Yorkshire & Beyond', Sheffield University, 1992, and *A Stony Gaze*, Capall Bann, 1998. It denotes a carved head, usually of stone and of indeterminate age, of minimalist facial detail and in a naive style frequently found in prehistoric carving, but also in folk sculpture of recent centuries.

AN ANGLO-DANISH PREDECESSOR

Kildwick Church has a collection of fragmentary Anglo-Danish crosses² inside the nave, recovered, according to local report, from 'the base of one of the chancel pillars and other parts of the north wall of the chancel' in restoration work around 1901. Collingwood (1915) suggests a date of around the mid-10th century; the explanation board in the church gives c. 950 CE. The chancel was constructed in the reign of Henry VIII, so an assumption might be that the crosses - which would have been counter to the emergent Protestant sensibility - were ensconced in the wall at that time, and it may be speculated that they were also broken up at that time in the contemporary spirit of iconoclasm. However, following the tradition that new churches would be built upon the foundations of their Christian predecessors, it is probably significant that a chancel pillar was raised upon one of the fragments. As the fragments do not constitute a single complete cross, let alone the six thought to be implied from the fragments, it is quite probable that the church wall contains further remains of the original monuments.

It must also be considered a possibility, in the apparent absence of documentation, that the carved head was also found in the 1901 restoration and incorporated, rather than kept in a separate display like the cross fragments. This would accord with an ancient and persistent tradition of placing carved heads at thresholds, such as over doorways and windows, that has been attested throughout history and extensively in ecclesiastical architecture (Billingsley 1992; 1998); this may have influenced the final decision to incorporate the head, while its appearance may have a bearing on its final inconspicuous location outside the main body of the church (casual visitors will not encounter the sculpture, as the tower is kept locked and a curtain covers the doorway).

The presence of the decorated crosses and the known propensity for heathen images to appear in an ostensible Christian context at this early stage of Christianisation (see below) may shed some light on the tower head. There has been some discussion as to the intention behind the iconography of this head. The slumped left eye, with its depression in the upper lid, is distinctive to the spectator, exaggeratedly so at a lower level, and possibly suggests an empty eye socket. If this were indeed the intention, then one possible association might be with one of the principal figures of the Norse pantheon, Odin/Woden 'the All-Wise'. He is credited with bringing back from the Otherworld wisdom and knowledge that would benefit humanity - but the price he paid for this was an eye, a sacrifice for the privilege of drinking from Mimir's Well of Knowledge. The few known depictions of Odin naturally depict him as a one-eyed god, emphasising the missing eye.³ For an audience familiar with the mythology, the impression of a missing eye would immediately recall Odin.

² W.G. Collingwood, 'Anglian and Anglo-Danish Sculpture in the West Riding', *YAJ* 23, 1908, pp.129-299, espec. pp.197-200. The cross designs are shown in this article, though Fig. 'f' is slightly different from what is now visible.

³ See Billingsley 1998, p.110, for a Norwegian example. There seems no unanimity on which eye was sacrificed.

However, although the left eye is clearly slumped when viewed from a lower perspective (Fig. 1a), with all the suggestive implication that this entails, that impression is not so pronounced when it is viewed face on; at this angle, the eye is only slightly below horizontal and less suggestive of, say, an empty socket. As so few depictions of Odin are known, moreover, no iconographic parallels can be drawn that might clarify the issue. We are left wondering, therefore, whether this is a clever sculptural ploy or just indifferent craftsmanship, and as the original location and height of the head is not known, there must remain considerable doubt as to whether an empty eye socket, and thus an Odinic reference, was intended.⁴ However, there is some indication of an Odinic reference at the site which may underpin this tentative association.



Fig. 1a: (John Billingsley)

THE ANGLO-DANISH CROSSES; A MYTHOLOGICAL THEME?

The presence of the cross fragments indicates a prior Christian establishment on the site, at a time when iconography was in transition between pagan and Christian mythology. The figurative designs on the crosses are difficult to reconstruct and interpret, especially with the degree of wear that the Kildwick fragments display; but it is known that crosses of this period would employ and presumably interpret heathen mythological themes as part of the iconography. Classic examples of this occur at Kirkby Stephen church, where what appears to be a representation of the

⁴ My attention has been drawn, however, to another figure in Norse mythology; the Ice-lander Egil Skallagrimsson, a poet descended from a line of shapeshifting ancestors, with a facility in magic; during his trances one eye would lower, while the other lifted up. A saga of his life 'chronicles the progressive deterioration of relations between Egil and his god, Odin'. Andy Orchard, *Dictionary of Norse Myth & Legend*, Cassell 1997, pp. 35-6. My thanks to Alby Stone for pointing out Egil.

Fall includes an image that is clearly Loki, a pre-Christian Norse trickster figure whose myths also involve a fall from heaven; and at Leeds, where a panel from a standing cross depicts Wayland the Smith (Ryder, 1993: 13)⁵.

Two figurative carvings on the Kildwick crosses are similarly ambiguous and would repay further investigation; one commentator on Norse mythology, to whom I am indebted for the following interpretation of the carvings⁶, has remarked that the panel showing a female figure beside a table with a vessel of some kind (Figs. 2 and 2a), and what may be a millstone on her right side, could have been intended as a



Fig. 2: (John Price)

⁵ 'Stone sculptures of the period... often mix Christian and pagan motifs. There has been a great deal of debate as to the meaning of such pieces: was the carver simply 'hedging his bets'?' Peter Ryder, *Mediaeval Churches of West Yorkshire*, WYAS, 1993, p.13. The Leeds cross panel is illustrated on p.11.

⁶ Thanks to Alby Stone, *pers. comm.* Nov. 2006, for his comments on these observations.



Fig. 3: (John Price)



Fig. 3a: (after Collingwood, p.198, g)

saint or Biblical character, but may also have been informed from the pagan tradition, such as a goddess associated with sustenance or hospitality, like Freya.

The other carving shows a man with a four-legged beast inserted vertically beside him (Fig. 3). Behind him is a knotted serpent, a motif that often occurs in connection with Odin⁷. In his right hand and across his shoulder is what may well be a staff, sword or spear, which could also indicate an Odinic reference; Collingwood's drawing (c. 1915) suggests a staff held horizontally, but John Price's photograph (2007) suggests a weapon being held over the shoulder ready to strike.

⁷ A rough sketch can be found in Bailey, p.158.

Closer attention should be paid to the grazing beast nestled in a perpendicular orientation beside this figure (Figs. 3 & 3a); though now considerably less distinct than in Collingwood's time, a certain ambiguity exists as to the number of legs⁸. This might simply be a case of poor skill on the part of the sculptor, but another possibility should be borne in mind; a possible interpretation of the ambiguity is that the animal depicted has eight legs. The prime candidate for such a wondrous beast can only be Sleipnir, the 8-legged horse of Odin.

Again, closer attention could also be paid to the eyes of the male figure; Bailey's sketch and John Price's photograph (Fig. 3) suggests that he may indeed have a single eye, an indubitable allusion to Odin's sacrifice of one eye for the right to drink from the well of knowledge at the foot of the World Tree (Ellis-Davidson 1969, 48; Bailey 1980, 157-9).

Another cross fragment appears in the display (Fig. 4), much of which is more indistinct now than when Collingwood viewed it; he concluded that it was an obscure and asymmetric knotwork design (Fig. 4a), which seems appropriate.



Fig. 4: (John Billingsley)



Fig. 4a: (after Collingwood, p.198 d)

CONCLUSION

It is clear that early Christian activity took place at Kildwick on the site or in the neighbourhood of the present church. Though none has yet been found, a likelihood would be that any small earlier church would have occupied the area now taken up by the large present building, which, having the longest nave in Yorkshire, covers a relatively large area. I believe that there is the strong possibility that the head in the tower may date from that period, and in a context of the early development of Christian iconography.

⁸ "the stance and long neck suggests a grazing horse, though it could equally be a dog or wolf [but] there's something amiss about the legs - could this be a suggestion of 4 pairs of limbs?" Stone, *pers. comm.* 2006.

The figurative carvings on the cross fragments inside the church appear to make reference to pre-Christian mythology, featuring deities from the Nordic pantheon who may be tentatively identified as Freya and Odin, along with Odin's horse, Sleipnir.

As for the undoubtedly appealing identification of the tower head as Odin, it is my opinion that the circumstantial evidence of the Anglo-Danish crosses and the pre-Christian iconography on them may possibly support an Odinic interpretation, but that a question mark should be held over such an identification of this sculpture, owing to the lack of any clear correlation between the head and the sculptured crosses.

What is clear, to my mind, from the new and close attention to the Kildwick sculptures is Odin's presence in the early Christianity of the vicinity. Further close and detailed research and inspection of the early carvings in the church, with technology that might reveal features obscure to the naked eye, and of the carvings as a whole, may yield more information and certainty as to the identification of the figures.

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MEDIEVAL TO MODERN AT NORTH BAILEYGATE, PONTEFRACT

By Chris Fenton-Thomas

Recent excavations by On-Site Archaeology have revealed a long sequence of occupation from the medieval period up to the nineteenth century, on a site close to Pontefract castle. The work was small in scale but identified structural remains and other deposits securely dated to the twelfth century. Following this period the site was occupied less intensively until the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century when it was landscaped and new property divisions were established. This may have coincided with the reconstruction of the area following the demolition of Pontefract Castle after the civil war.

INTRODUCTION

Excavation on land at North Baileygate, Pontefract by On-Site Archaeology has revealed occupation dating from the twelfth to the nineteenth centuries AD. The site was immediately north of Pontefract Castle in an area where the medieval occupation was poorly understood (Roberts 2002). There were no remains relating to the Civil War sieges of the 1640s, despite the fact the site was only 20m from Swillington Tower, which played an important role in the defence of the castle by royalist forces. Parliamentary armies were eventually successful in taking the castle, which was then demolished following petitions by the townspeople (Roberts 2002). The excavation was associated with residential development but it was limited in extent. The designs of the proposed buildings were modified by Bellway Homes so they would have a minimal impact on the buried archaeology. Full excavation was not carried out. Five discrete areas were excavated at the southern side of the plot close to the street frontage of North Baileygate itself (Fig. 1). The archaeology was difficult to interpret because the interventions were small. The excavated areas ranged in size from 3.5 to 13.2 sq metres. A full description and discussion of the discoveries can be found in the archive report (On-Site Archaeology 2006).

SITE DEVELOPMENT

The complexity of dated features and the amount of datable pottery showed that the site was occupied during the twelfth century. This phase seems to have come to an end at the beginning of the thirteenth century. The sequence in area 1 showed a linear ditch that was overlain with the remains of a stone wall. In area 2, the twelfth century remains included postholes and surfaces, which may relate to a series of buildings. The pottery assemblage included possible eleventh century sherds and these were found without later forms in some features (Vince 2006). Occupation could therefore have begun as early as the eleventh century. The earliest group of excavated features in area 2 did not cut natural suggesting that the sequence may

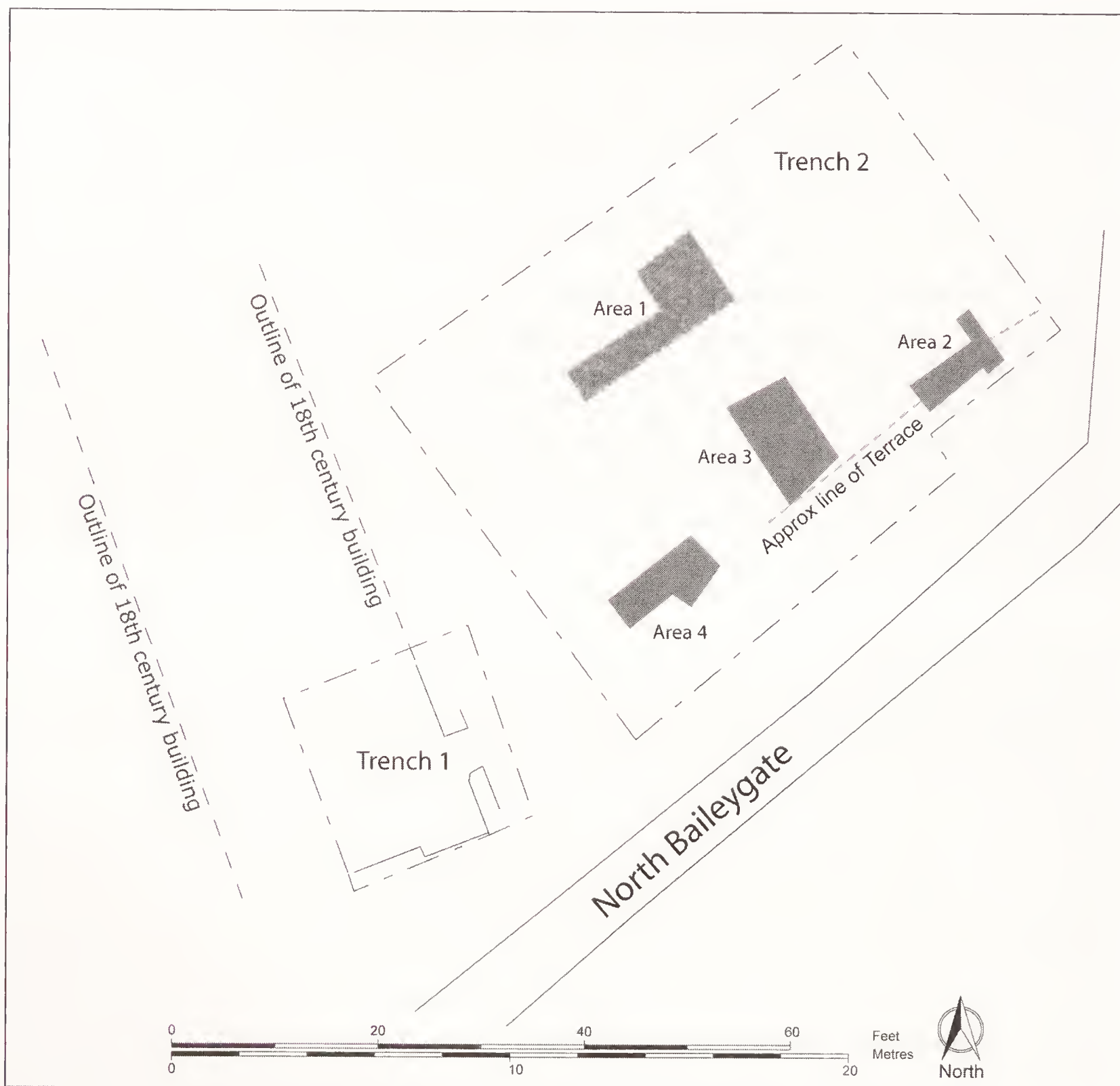


Fig. 1 The excavated areas in trenches 1 and 2 on the north side of North Baileygate. The outline of the walls of the eighteenth century building is shown.

have begun at an even earlier date. The nature of activity on the site during the twelfth century was difficult to determine. It probably represented domestic occupation along the street frontage in the area surrounding the castle. Remains of this date have been found at Spink Lane and Micklegate (WYAS 2003) to the south-west and pottery came to light on a site also on North Baileygate to the east (ARCUS 2004). It has been suggested that the commercial centre of Pontefract shifted westwards away from the castle in the thirteenth century (Brigantia 1999) and this shift may have coincided with the demise of occupation in the area surrounding the castle. This would clearly fit with the evidence from this site where activity appeared to cease around the beginning of the thirteenth century.

Apart from a period of dumping and levelling that took place during the fourteenth century, there was little occupation until the late seventeenth century. In

spite of the proximity to the castle there was no evidence for any archaeological remains dating to the period of the Civil War sieges. It is widely accepted that buildings surrounding the castle were demolished during the sieges but there was no evidence for this on the site. It can only be assumed that no buildings stood here at this time. The sloping site appears to have been terraced at some time during the late seventeenth century (Fig. 1). This may relate to the reconstruction of the area following the demolition of the castle in 1649 (Roberts 2002). A series of ditched property boundaries were also laid out during the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century. These ran both in parallel and at right angles to the line of North Baileygate and seem to have been laid out along that street frontage. One of the ditches respected the line of the terrace, which had partially been backfilled by this time. The terrace is likely to have formed some form of property boundary whose line was later perpetuated by the ditch.

A map from 1742 (Jollage 1742) depicted the outline of a building on the south-west corner of the site and this building was also shown on nineteenth century Ordnance Survey maps as Castle Cottages. The remains of one of the stone-built cellars of this building were identified in trench 1 (Fig. 1). The cellar had been modified with brick additions that probably represented the sub-division of the cellars and their conversion to domestic usage. This was a common occurrence in the urban centres of northern England throughout the nineteenth century (Belford 2001). At this time it was normal for properties in former middle class residential areas to be occupied by working class families who were often crammed into every available living space. Some of the places visited by George Orwell in the 1930s were still being occupied in this way (Orwell 1937).

Much of the site was used as a garden throughout the nineteenth century and most of the later groups of postholes, drains and robbed out walls probably relate to this period. The land-use seems to have changed at the end of the nineteenth century or slightly later when the buildings appear to have been demolished. Some of the archaeological features such as the sand quarry pits probably date from this period and indicate a more functional or semi-industrial use for the site in the twentieth century.

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THE MEDIEVAL CEMETERY AT RICCALL LANDING: A REAPPRAISAL

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Human skeletons found by the River Ouse at Riccall in the 1950s and 1980s have hitherto been linked speculatively to the documented defeat of invading Norsemen in 1066. To test this hypothesis, excavation records and surviving artefacts have been reviewed, and the skeletons have been examined osteologically for the first time. Isotope analysis refutes the initial conclusion that individuals buried here originated in Scandinavia; radiocarbon determinations indicate that the cemetery was in use from the 7th to the 12th centuries.

INTRODUCTION

Riccall in History

The village of Riccall, with its 12th-century parish church, lies some nine miles/fourteen kilometres south of York, approximately half a mile/one kilometre east of the River Ouse (Fig. 1). The river is now approached from the village along Landing Lane, a slightly elevated straight roadway laid out across the West Field at enclosure in 1883 (Allison (ed) 1976, 82f). This modern highway stops some 125 metres short of the river, where it turns abruptly south as Ings Lane; the line of Landing Lane is continued to the river's edge at Riccall Landing by a grassed track some nine metres wide. The land between it and Ings Lane is occupied by a works depot, currently administered by the Environment Agency. To the north of the lane is a field which, when formed in the 19th-century enclosure of the West Field of the manor of Riccall, was known as Riverside Field (Wenham 1970, 301); it is now known as Dam End Field.

The earliest documentary references to Riccall relate to the year 1066; Domesday Book refers to *Richale* as a place where both the archbishop of York and the king were land owners. By 1086 the king's holding was in the hands of the see of Durham; under their auspices a manor house, later known as Wheel Hall, was built close to the river, near the northern end of Wheel Hall Reach, some 750m north of Ings Lane. The manor house was replaced in the eighteenth century by a farmhouse, but traces of the moated enclosure remain. The Archbishop's holding eventually became attached to the prebendary of Riccall; a prebendal manor house is documented from 1294 and a licence to crenellate was granted in 1350. The moated site, containing late medieval and later structures, lies some 600m east of the river and of Wheel Hall, approximately equidistant from the river and the parish church.

The best-known event in Riccall's history is referred to in John of Worcester's Chronicle (Darlington and McGurk (eds) 1995, 603), compiled in the 1120s and drawing on a lost version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, when it names Riccall as the

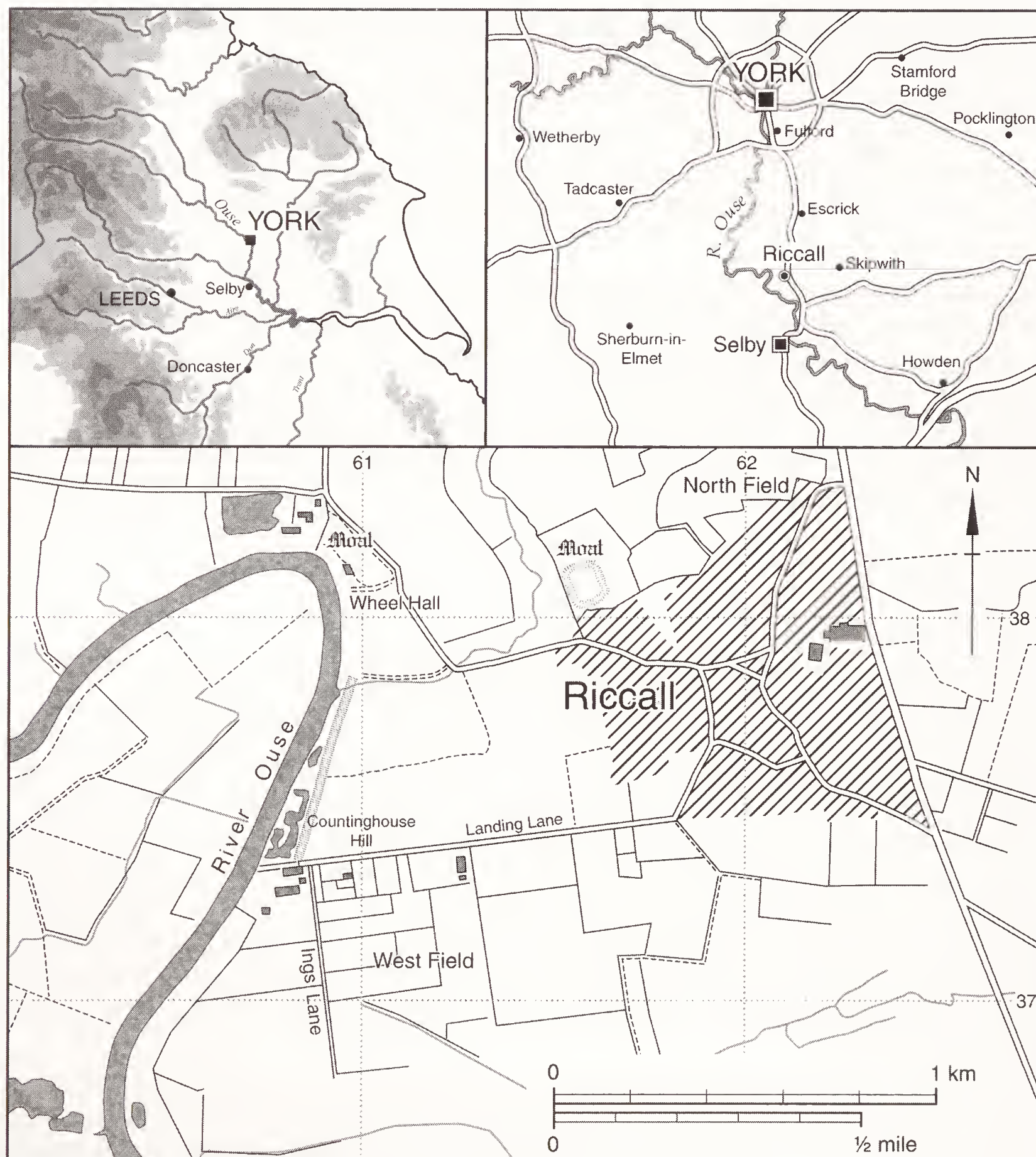


Fig.1. Plans showing the location of Riccall and an outline of the village and significant surrounding features.

place where King Harald Hardrada of Norway disembarked from his invasion fleet in September 1066. This Wheel Hall Reach of the River Ouse provides a long straight expanse of river bank at a tactically convenient distance from York; it should be noted that there was probably an even greater extent of relatively straight bank at that time, before a sharply angled meander beyond the south end of the present reach was cut off across its neck (Allison (ed) 1976, 83).

On Wednesday 20th September the invaders marched towards York. They defeated its defenders at a place identified by the early 12th-century writer Simeon of Durham

in his *History of the Kings* (Stephenson 1858, 131) and by Geffrei Gaimar, writing 1135-40, in his *L'Estoire des Engleis* (Bell (ed) 1960, lii, 165), as Fulford, now a southern riverside suburb of York, some 2 miles / 3km from the city centre. Hostages and provisions were taken from York, and some form of future collaboration in an invasion of southern England was agreed in a meeting on board ship (perhaps back at Riccall) (Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, 'C' text; Whitelock (ed) 1962, 144).

On Monday September 25th Harald Hardraada went to Stamford Bridge, to collect further hostages. Surprised by the arrival of King Harold Godwinson of England, a battle was fought there 'until late in the day'. Hardraada was killed, and the 'D' version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, probably compiled at York and therefore privy to local detail, records that '...the Norwegians who survived took flight; and the English attacked them fiercely as they pursued them until some got to the ships. Some were drowned, and some were burned, and some destroyed in various ways so that few survived and the English remained in command of the field. The king gave quarter to ...all those who survived on the ships...and the king let them go home with twenty-four ships' (*ibid*, 142).

Archaeological Discoveries at Riccall

In December 1956 Mr G M Outhwaite, of Dam End Farm, Riccall, was digging a mangel-wurzel clamp in Dam End / Riverside Field, adjacent to the riverward end of Landing Lane, some 120m from the River Ouse (Fig. 2). There he encountered human remains, in the form of about eight skeletons, at a depth of about 12 inches (30 cms) below the ground surface. He notified the historian and archaeologist Peter Wenham, of St John's College, York, on 4th December, and on 10th December Wenham visited the site. His notes, in The Yorkshire Museum, record that he retrieved the larger of the bones lying on the trench sides, and that during the following week a Nunthorpe Grammar School boy named Scott visited the site and picked up 'half a sack' of bones as well as two iron objects which he found among the skeletal remains dug up by the farmer.

On Wednesday 19th December Wenham, assisted by Cambridge undergraduate Ian Stead, returned to excavate two adjacent areas close to the find-spot (Trenches 1 and 2), utilising a work force of thirty fifth- and sixth-form pupils from Nunthorpe Grammar School, York, who travelled to the site on bicycles, motorcycles and by bus. On December 20th Wenham did not visit the site; supervision of twenty Nunthorpe School boys and four first-year students from St John's College, York, was carried out by Ian Stead and Ernest Kirk, a recent Cambridge graduate who volunteered his services at The Yorkshire Museum where he worked for George Wilmott, Keeper of Archaeology. On December 21st Wenham continued to excavate, accompanied by Kirk and two St John's College students. The site was apparently not excavated on December 22nd; on December 23rd he cleaned the site and the skeletons for photography, accompanied again by Ian Stead, together with Harold Richardson, whose name is appended to the published plans of the excavation, Robin Hill (photographer), and the eleven-year-old James Wenham (Fig 3). The skeletons were then dis-interred and removed to York for study. All this was in what Wenham described as 'appalling conditions ~ thick fog, severe frost and bitter cold'; his notes

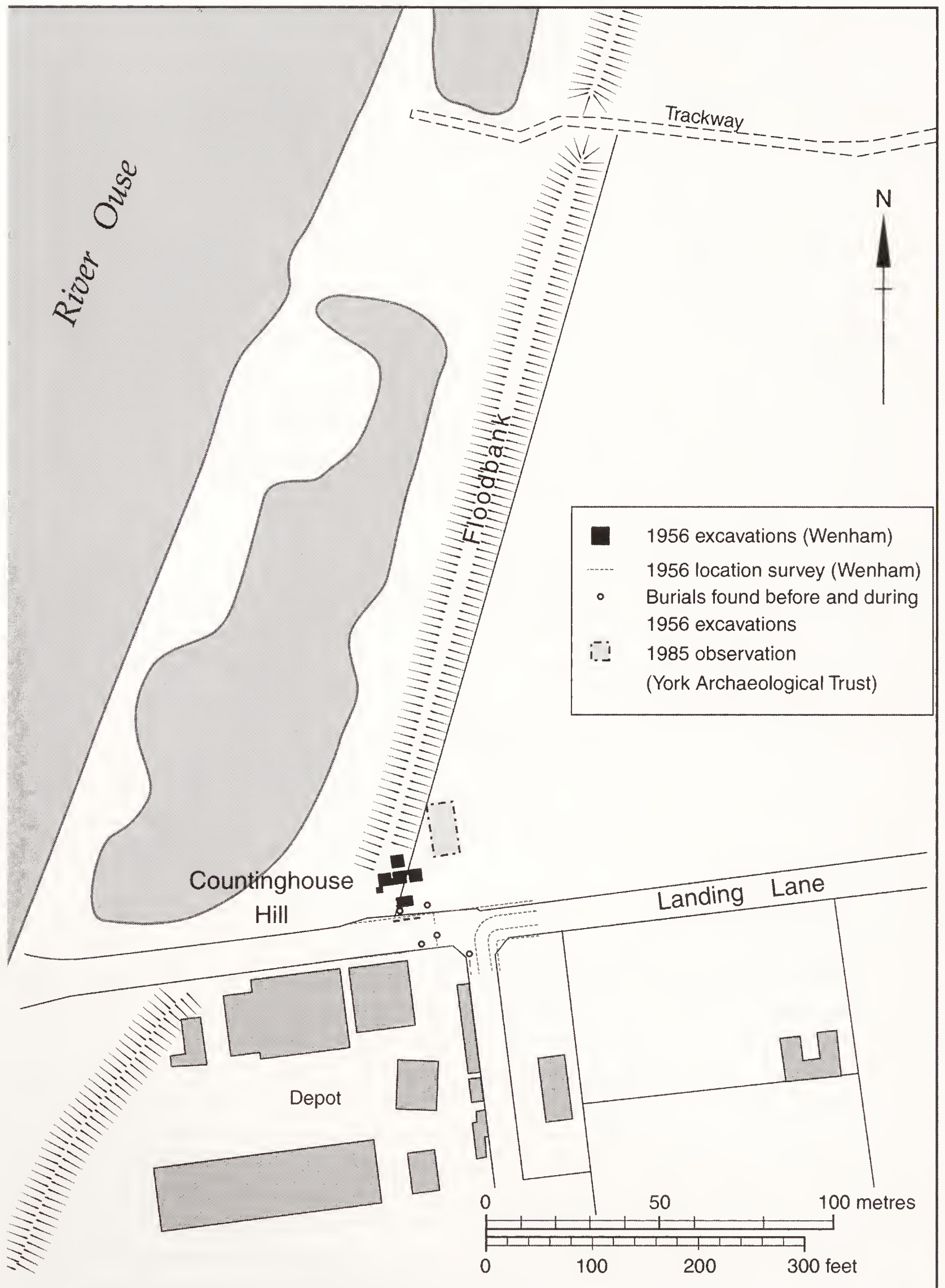


Fig. 2 The location of the excavated areas and of all other known burials.

also record that 'on the first three days of the "dig" [the fog] was so dense that folk working at one end of the area under excavation were unable to recognise colleagues working at the other end!'. He had investigated a total of approximately 470 square feet / 43.5 square metres, and identified twenty-nine burials. No skeletons had been found within the northernmost Trench 1; and in the southern part of Trench 2, where it overlapped with the area of the mangel-wurzel clamp, only vestigial traces of a few interments had been recovered (Fig. 5; cf Fig. 4, which does not indicate this overlap).

In summer 1957 Wenham excavated a further 150 square feet / 14 square metres (Trench 3) with help from pupils of Riccall County School. This trench lay almost entirely within the area of the mangel-wurzel clamp, and many (though not all) of the skeletons here had been truncated. Ten burials were identified. In 1958 the headmaster and some pupils from Riccall County School investigated three small areas slightly further south, just beyond the field boundary, at the side of the grassed lane that runs to the river (collectively referred to as Trench 4). They found parts of more skeletons which, however, were apparently not recorded. Wenham also reported that the farmer had dug another mangel-wurzel clamp some forty feet / twelve metres to the east of the first; no skeletons were encountered within this clamp, which measured over forty-five feet / fourteen metres long by some twenty feet / six metres wide.

The thirty-nine skeletons identified by Wenham lay at depths of between seven inches / 180 mm and twenty-four inches / 600 mm. All the corpses had been laid out on an east-west orientation, and all but one lay supine, with arms either down their sides or crossed at the pelvis (Fig. 5a). The exception lay on its right side with the knees slightly drawn up (Fig. 6). No grave cuts were identified in the light sandy loam, and Wenham concluded that they had been carefully buried in a mass grave. There was some suggestion of burial in neat rows (Fig. 7), and no clear cases either of intercutting or of superimposed skeletons. No artefacts were reported as being found in association with the excavated skeletons.

The skeletons varied in their completeness; some were represented only by broken skulls, while others were virtually intact (Fig. 8). A summary examination by Professor R. Warwick suggested that they were predominantly adult males, with a few possible females and a handful of children (*ibid*, 303). No further details were recorded. The skeletal material, and all the archaeological archive, passed into the care of The Yorkshire Museum, ultimately with the accession code YORYM 1974.121.

Wenham published his findings in 1960 under the title 'Human skeletons, Riccall Landing' (*YAJ* 40, 301-7). He drew attention to a late nineteenth-century source which states that 'Skeletons and human bones have been frequently dug up in the neighbourhood of the river. In a field near Riccall Landing, some 60 years ago, a quantity of 'bones and old iron' were turned up; and about 10 years ago, at the Old Landing in the West Fields, 10 human skulls were disinterred, but there was nothing to show [who they were]' (Bulmer 1892, 699). He also reported three other locations in the immediate vicinity at which, he was told, skeletons had been found before 1956, when holes were dug for gate-posts. These locations were on the Ings



Fig. 3 Harold Richardson, standing on the eastern of the north-south baulks in Trench 2, photographs James Wenham measuring Skeleton 13 (No. 17 on Fig. 5a), 23rd December 1956. The manglewurzel clump had cut away the area behind Hill.

Lane side of the corner gateway into the Depot; approximately centrally in the grass strip continuing the line of Landing Lane, at the point where a stile bars vehicular access to Riccall Landing; and slightly further south-west in this strip, where there used to be a pedestrian gateway into the Depot. His notes additionally recorded at second hand the recollections of a Mr Cattley, who had died 'some years ago' and who, as a young man, had found skulls and bones when helping to fence the lane. Wenham tentatively concluded that the skeletons might be linked to the events of 1066, the dead of the rout to Riccall, although he described this link as 'very tenuous' (Wenham 1960, 305-7).

In the years since Wenham's report appeared there have been other encounters with human skeletons in this vicinity (Fig. 2). Some were found at the Environment Agency Depot in 1976 by workmen digging trenches, perhaps those dug in that year for the insertion of drains and manholes around and close to the workshop facing the corner entrance gates. There is no more precise information about their location, although a photograph in a contemporary press-cutting and a note suggest that at least one of the skulls was found at a depth of about 1.2 metres / four feet. They have The Yorkshire Museum accession code YORYM 1976.27.

In 1985 the Environment Agency undertook flood prevention measures along the

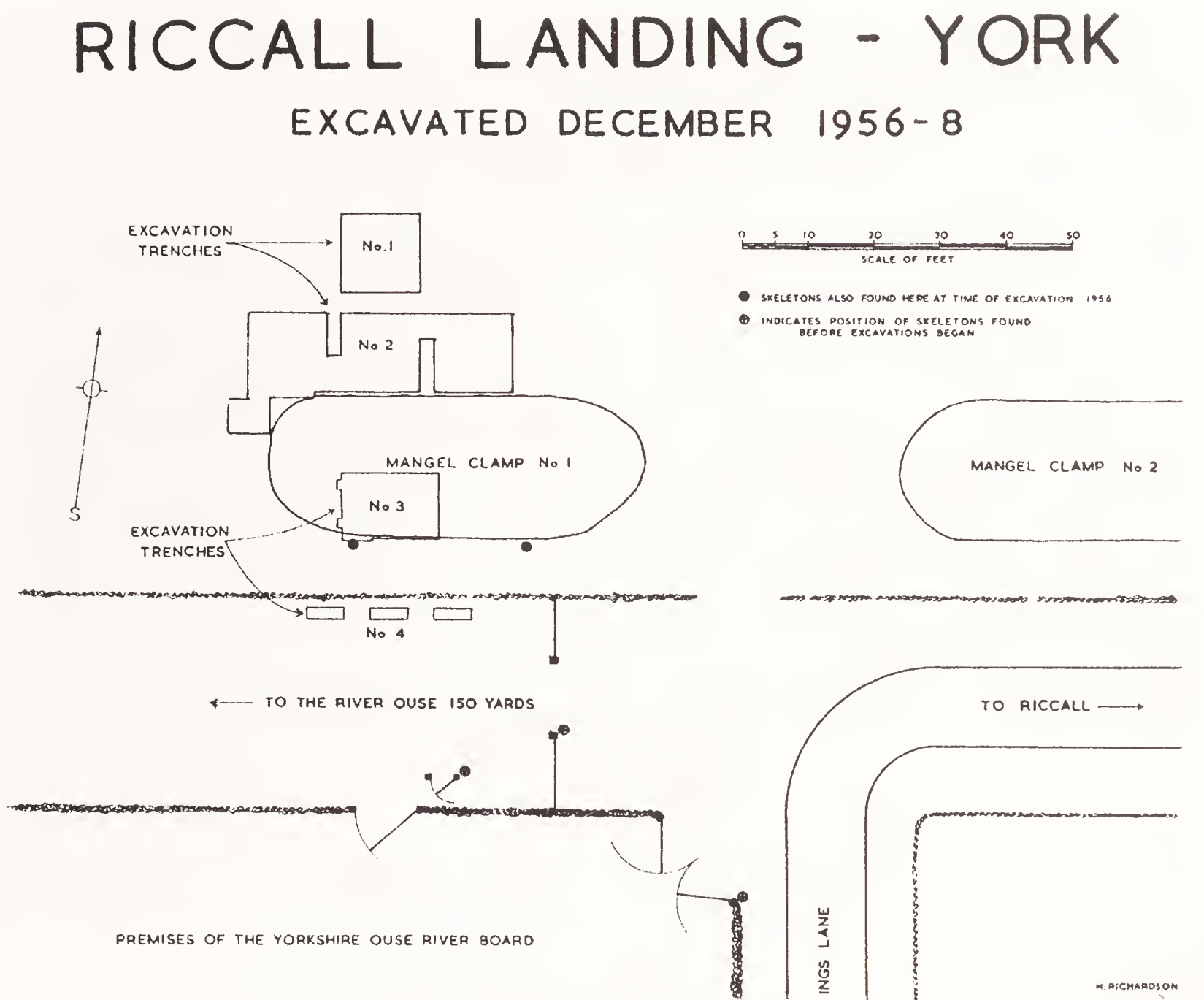


FIG. 4. Plan of the trenches dug.

Fig. 4 Trench plan published as fig.4 of Wenham's report.

banks of the River Ouse in this vicinity. The work, which involved digging out and moving soil to create a flood embankment, proceeded without any archaeological input until human skeletons were encountered. Staff from York Archaeological Trust then carried out emergency 'salvage' investigations, recovering twenty-three skeletons from the line of the embankment (Brinklow 1985). No stratigraphic excavation was possible, but darker coloured soils surrounding the skeletons, which contrasted with lighter coloured soils over most of the area observed, may represent the backfills of grave cuts. No artefacts were found in association with the remains, which passed to The Yorkshire Museum with an accession code YORYM 1985.11.

Additionally, conversations with long-serving staff at the Environment Agency Depot have elicited recollections of other encounters with human skeletal remains. Although in varying degrees imprecise, these occasions/locations include when digging foundations for the workshop building just inside the corner gate (this may be a memory of the 1976 discoveries noted above), and when digging into the grass verge on the north side of Landing Lane, just opposite the corner gate, in order to clear out a blocked drain. There is also a recollection that skeletons were found in the

RICCALL LANDING - YORK

EXCAVATED DECEMBER 1956.

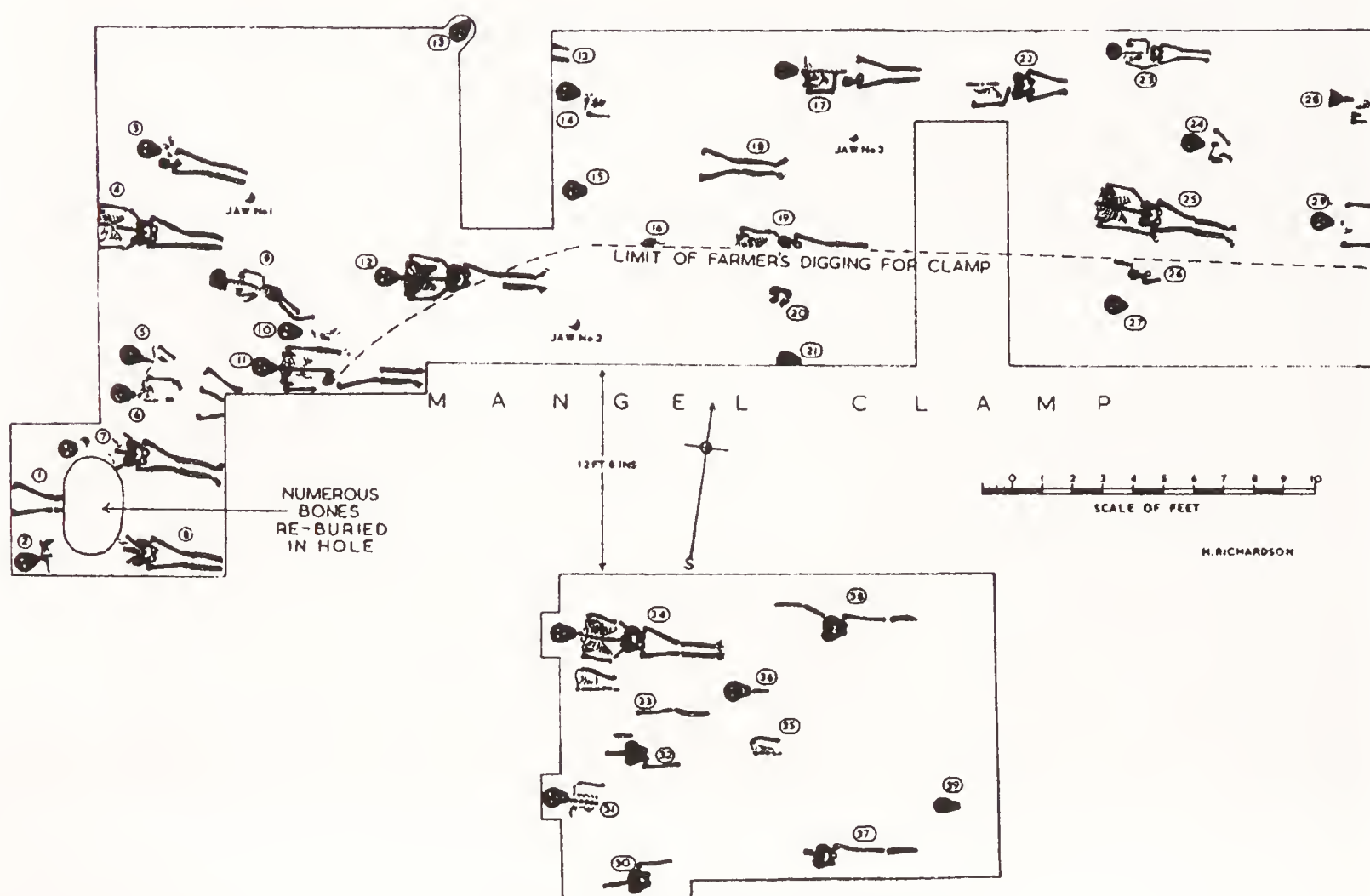


FIG. 5. Findspots of the skeletons.

Fig. 5a Plan of skeletons' locations and postures, drawn by Richardson from Wenham's original, and published by Wenham as Fig. 5; it inverts the skeleton number sequence in the upper trench, Trench 2. Trench 3 was excavated in 1957.

grassed strip running down to Riccall Landing when the flood embankment was raised. York Archaeological Trust staff undertaking the 'salvage' operation noted above did not record any skeletons in this location; indeed, they did not witness any earth moving in the grassed strip. It is also reported that earth was removed from the south-west corner of Dam End Field in order to fill 'sandbags' during an emergency action to prevent flooding; no skeletons were noted on that occasion. Some land within the curtilage of the Environment Agency depot has reportedly been used in recent years for training their JCB drivers to dig holes; there is, however, no indication that human remains have been recognised during these activities.

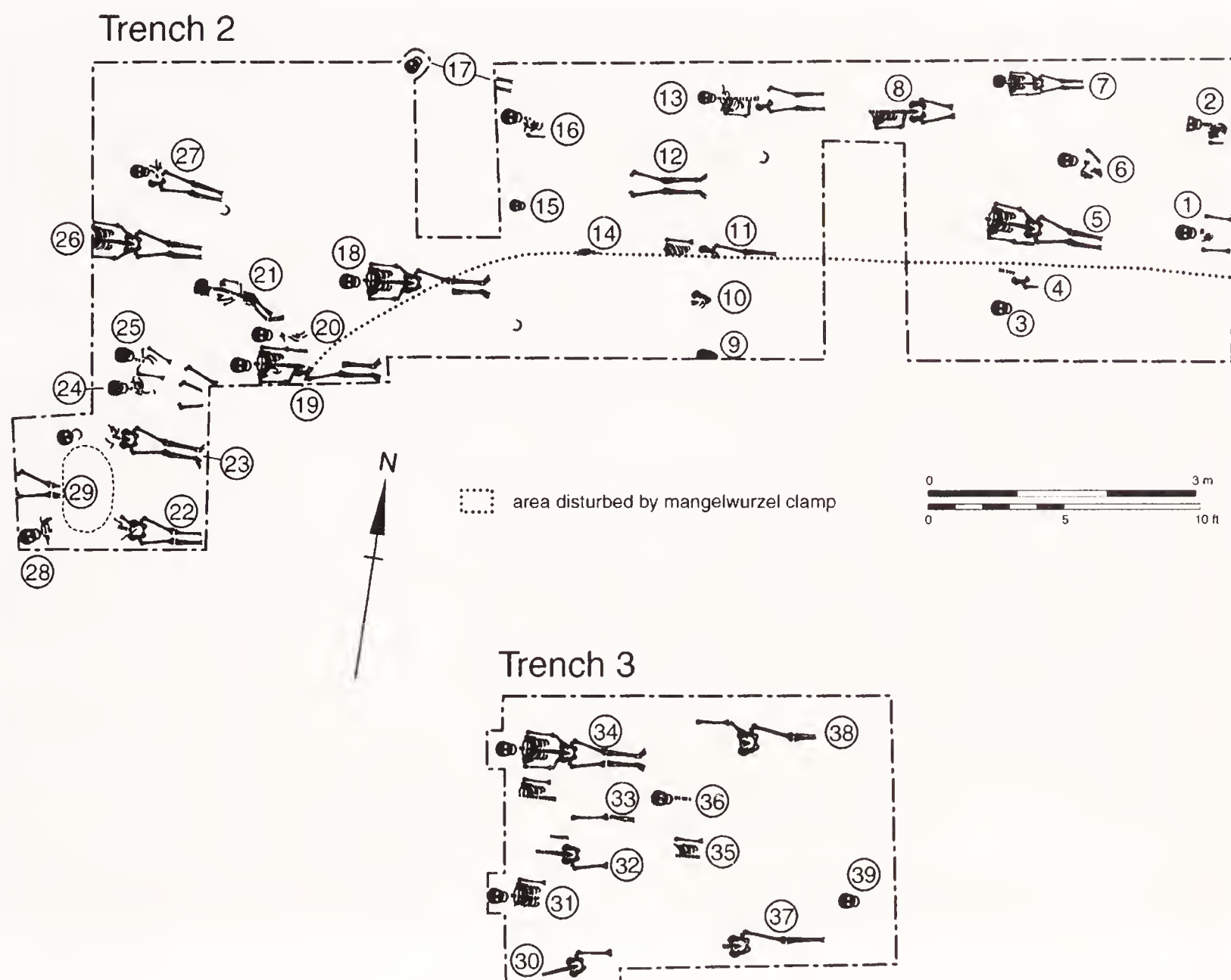


Fig. 5b Richardson's plan redrawn and the skeleton numbers corrected to correspond with Wenham's records.

RECONSIDERING THE EVIDENCE

In connection with a post-doctoral research programme, a Sheffield University post-graduate student, Jo Buckberry, and her supervisor, Dr D. M. Hadley, had initially arranged for a single radiocarbon determination from the Riccall skeletal remains; subsequently they commissioned two further determinations. The results were as follows:

OxA-10980; 1029 ± 32 BP (at 95.4% probability: AD895-920, 4.8%; AD955-1040, 88.5%; 1140-1155, 2.1%).

OxA11708; 1154 ± 34 BP (at 95.4% probability: AD775-795, 6.5%; AD800-980, 88.9%).

OxA11709; 1059 ± 34 BP (at 95.4% probability: AD895-925, 17.9%; AD935-1025, 77.5%).

In 2001, at the behest of the BBC television programme *Blood of the Vikings*, Dr Paul Budd carried out a pilot study of strontium- and oxygen-isotope analysis on tooth enamel from six skeletons from Riccall. The results (see below, Fig. 17) suggested that the individuals did not originate within the British Isles, but were more likely to have come from Scandinavia.



Fig. 6 Trench 2, looking south-west into the south-west corner of the trench. Peter Wenham with, to his left, the slightly flexed Skeleton 21 (No. 9 on Fig. 5a); ? Ian Stead in the background.

It subsequently became clear that the stable isotope analysis had included examination of two of the three dated burials (OxA10980 and OxA11708). If the radiocarbon dates were correct, the isotope analysis results suggested that the burial population might include first generation Viking immigrants, interred with an unaccompanied burial rite; an observation potentially of considerable interest in furthering an understanding of Viking-Age Scandinavian settlement in England. It was also recognized that both the dates and the attribution of the individuals to a Scandinavian origin might be misleading. Individually and in concert, the issues of dating and the oxygen-isotope analyses required further consideration, so as to inform the further refinement or deployment of these techniques.

Alternatively, the possibility that the Riccall cemetery was the resting place of warriors killed in the rout after the Battle of Stamford Bridge in 1066 meant that it would be a very rare example of a battle-related cemetery, and a correspondingly rare archaeological resource. Contrariwise, if this hypothesis could be demonstrated to be unproven or incorrect, this in itself would aid understanding of cemetery location and use in the latter part of the pre-conquest period and the early Norman period.

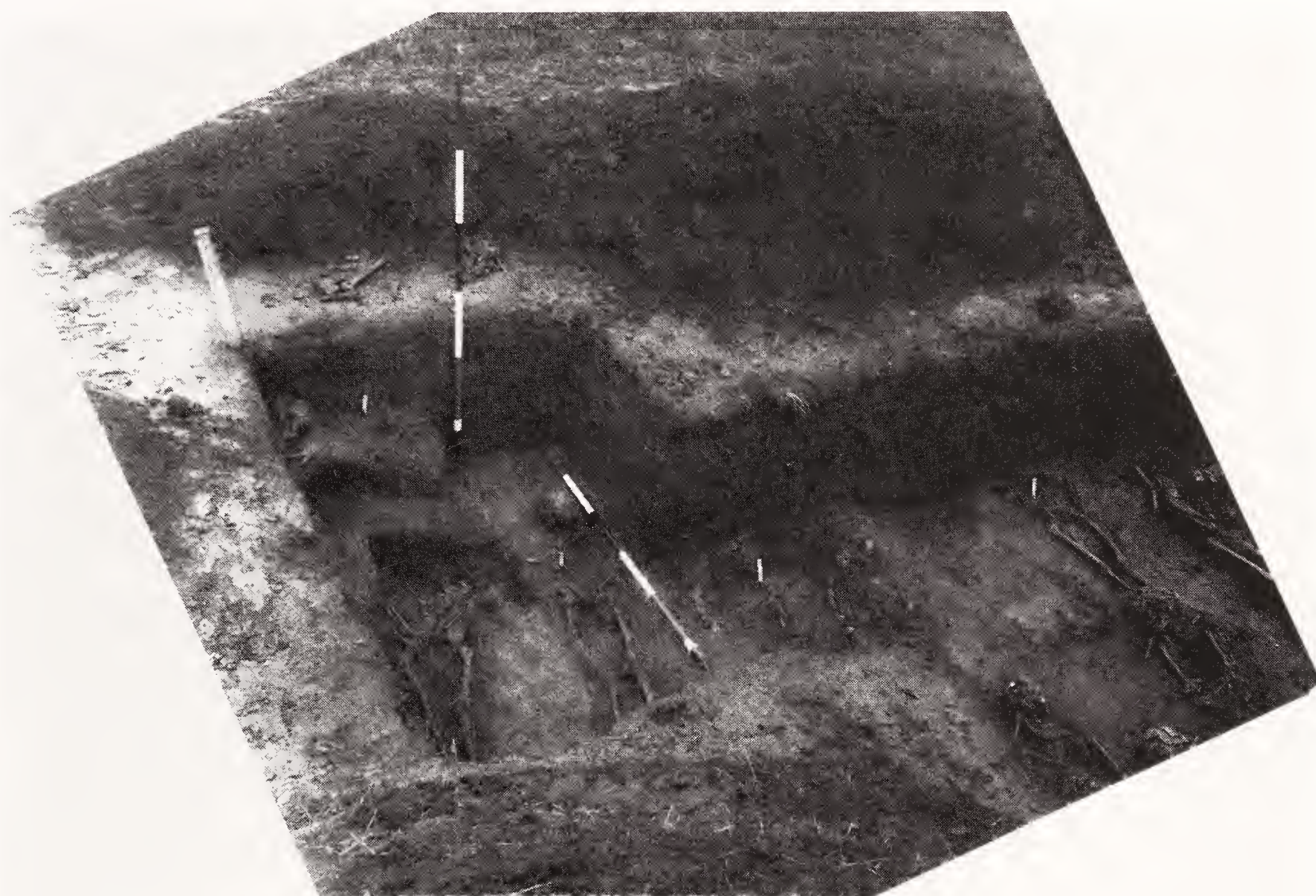


Fig. 7 Trench 2, south-west corner, looking west.

Recognising the potential significance of this assemblage, both intrinsically and for the ramifications that the outcomes of enquiry might have more widely, English Heritage accepted a project design from York Archaeological Trust for the investigation of a number of aspects of the data, including an inspection of Wenham's archive. An assessment was also undertaken of the potential for the skeletons to yield information on age at death, pathology and biometry, so that it could be determined whether the demography of the cemetery population is consistent with expectations for a battlefield cemetery, or more consistent with age/sex distributions seen in churchyard and other settlement cemeteries. The provision of trustworthy absolute dating for this sample of the cemetery population, and further scientific analysis to determine the geographical origins of a sample of the cemetery population, were also deemed crucial. The results of these several lines of enquiry are presented below in summary form.

ARCHIVES AND ARTEFACTS

Thirty-nine skeletons or part skeletons were given numerical identifiers on the published plan of the 1956-8 excavations (Fig. 5a). Numbers 1-29 came from Trench 2, and numbers 30-39 from Trench 3.

The numbers now attributed to particular skeletons in Trench 2 do not, however, correspond to those recorded on Wenham's published plan. An example of this is provided by Skeleton 21, which is shown on the plan as consisting of only a single bone, perhaps a skull or part of a pelvis; yet the material from the group now identified and curated as Skeleton 21 comprises cranial fragments, a mandible



Fig. 8 Trench 2, east end, looking north.

fragment, ossa coxae and sacrum fragments, femora midshafts and a tibia midshaft. The excavation archive reveals the explanation for this inconsistency. It makes it clear that skeletons numbered 1-29 were given those numbers in Wenham's original site records; but that when his plan was re-drawn for publication his skeleton numbering sequence for Trench 2, which had ascended numerically from 1 at the east of the trench to 29 at the west, was inverted. Thus Skeleton 1 in the records was numbered as 29 on the plan, Skeleton 2 as 28, and so on. The correct numbering is shown on Figure 5b.

Among the skeletal material present today in The Yorkshire Museum all but seven of the numbered skeletal groups from Trench 2 appear, on the basis of the labelling on their containers, to be present. The exceptions are numbers 3, 9, 10, 14, 16, 20 and 27. Skeletons originally designated by Wenham as numbers 3, 9 and 10 (shown on Wenham's figure 5 as numbers 27, 21 and 20) lay within or on the edge of the mangel-wurzel clamp, and were shown on the published plan as being represented by only one or a few bones. Likewise original numbers 14, 16 and 20 (shown on Fig. 5a as numbers 16, 14 and 10), although outside the clamp, were very badly truncated. The original number 27, shown as number 9 on Figure 5a, however, was

represented as more intact, although still missing many bones. Furthermore, the archive makes no reference to Skeletons 30-39, the full complement of those from Trench 3. Instead, there are six groups given alphabetic identifiers (B, E, F, G, H, J), and three identified simply as 'human skull', 'infant 1' and 'infant 2'.

Wenham's report was clear that no artefacts of any sort whatsoever were found on, alongside or under the skeletons which he excavated (1960, 303-5). His unpublished notes, in The Yorkshire Museum, contain a draft report [identifiable as being written in green ink] which includes a list of artefacts specified as not having been associated with skeletal remains. This list includes '3 sherds of Roman coarse grey pottery; fragment of Roman mortarium rim; sherd of hard grey ware with green/brown glaze on both sides, 16th century; fragment of indeterminate bronze object; 2 iron nails; six flint microliths; 6d of William III, circular hole through it, letters EL punched on the obverse; 2 iron objects, ?door latches - dug up by Mr Outhwaite'. The William III coin was in an identified (but un-planned) intrusion; the overall site plan indicates that the flints were found by or under the head of Wenham's Skeleton 1 (number 29 on the published plan). With the exception of the two iron ?door latches, it has not been possible to locate these objects.

The 1985 investigations did not recover any items firmly associated with the skeletal remains. They did, however, recover two sherds of pottery; these have been identified by Dr A. J. Mainman as being a fragment of a Roman mortarium rim of Crambeck ware, and a body sherd of a Roman white ware. The Roman pottery from both the 1956 and the 1985 excavations may suggest that there is a Romano-British occupation site located somewhere in the vicinity; the nearest known Roman site is that of a possible villa, which lies approximately 2 km to the east.

The most significant of all these items in terms of interpreting the cemetery are the two so-called 'door latches', one of which is illustrated by a sketch on the back of an envelope among the Wenham archive; Wenham's excavation diary initially recognized that the 'most important dating objects may be those which Scott, a boy at Nunthorpe School, picked up during a visit to the site last week...'. The archive makes it clear that they had been found among the skeletal remains placed by the farmer on the side of his mangel-wurzel clamp. These two items survive in The Yorkshire Museum, and have been x-radiographed and studied (Fig. 9).

Nicola Rogers writes:

Two iron hinge straps (a and b) were recovered. (a) has an incomplete perforated terminal at one end, and a loop at the other end, most of which is now missing. Two nails for attachment to a chest survive. (b) is slightly shorter than (a), with an incomplete rounded perforated terminal; the looped end is also incomplete, but was probably of the same form as on (a).

Pairs of hinge straps were used on chests to attach the lid to the main body. One strap, Component A, was curved over at the head to form a loop which was linked to an eye at the head of the second strap, Component B. Component A straps were nailed to the lid of a chest and Component B straps to its rear. It is probable that both of the straps from Riccall are Component A straps.

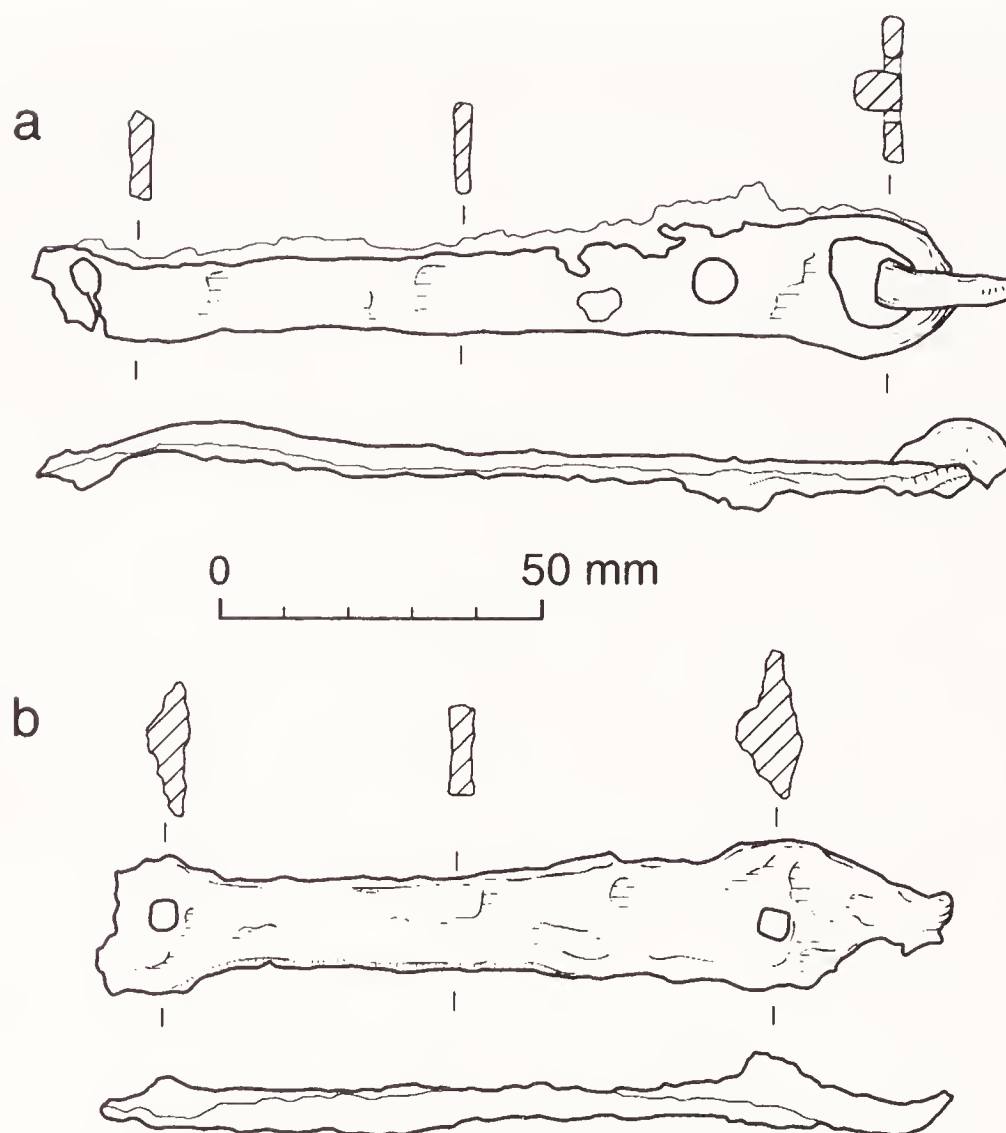


Fig. 9 Iron hinge straps disturbed by the digging of the mangel-wurzel clump.

As these hinge straps were found in association with human burials, it seems likely that they derive from chests used as coffins. The chest would probably have been an oblong box with a lid attached to the box by pairs of hinge straps. At least two pairs of hinge straps would presumably have been required for attachment of the lids, and it is possible that both the Riccall straps were used on the same chest.

The earliest examples of the use of chest burials in Britain are probably Romano-British (Ottaway 1996, 112), but the 8th -10th century appears to be the period of the greatest popularity of this burial custom (Ottaway, forthcoming a). Chest burials were never common in mid-late Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, and in many they are unknown. It has been noted that where the custom does occur, however, it often appears to be concentrated in certain locations within the cemetery (Ottaway, forthcoming a), and it has further been suggested that the custom was reserved for people of distinct status, probably of high social rank (Ottaway 1996, 113). Within the period of its use the majority of chest burials appears to come from the northern half of England; sites which have produced these burials include Ailcy Hill, Ripon (Ottaway 1996), Thwing, E. Yorkshire (Ottaway, forthcoming a), and Spofforth, North Yorkshire (Ottaway *pers.comm.*) The chest burials from all these sites were dated from the 8th to the mid-9th centuries.

At the time of their discovery at Riccall such items had not been recognized within the corpus of Anglo-Saxon metalwork.

OSTEOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

by Jo Buckberry and Rebecca Storm (Biological Anthropology Research Centre, Archaeological Sciences, University of Bradford)

This report is a summary of a fully detailed, illustrated and referenced discussion which, together with a complete catalogue of the material, is to be found at the Biological Anthropology Research Centre, Archaeological Sciences, University of Bradford (Buckberry & Storm 2007), and is available as a pdf at www.barc.brad.ac.uk/reports/Riccall.pdf.

A combined total of 64 individuals was identified archaeologically by the various excavators: 39 from YORYM 1974.121, two from YORYM 1976.27 and 23 from YORYM 1985.11 (see above). However, the initial osteological assessment identified just 62 individuals: 31 from YORYM 1974.121, two from YORYM 1976.27 and 29 from YORYM 1985.11. The changes in numbers are because not all of the skeletons excavated by Wenham were curated by York Museum, combined with the identification of multiple burials from the YAT excavation. During the subsequent full osteological analysis, contexts YORYM 1976.27 [A] and YORYM 1974.121 [4] were both identified as containing two separate individuals, increasing the overall total back to 64 individuals. A single box of disarticulated remains from YORYM 1974.121 was also analysed, and contained the remains of at least three individuals.

Each individual was allocated to a category of completeness based on the proportion of the skeleton present for analysis (Fig. 10). In addition, each skeleton was ascribed to a preservation category based on the integrity of the bone cortex and the fragmentation of the remains (Fig. 11). An excellent skeleton will have most of the bone cortex intact, whereas a poorly preserved skeleton will have little or no cortex remaining, and will also be fragmented. Overall the level of preservation of bone at Riccall was most commonly moderate (45.3%); however the level of completeness of many of the skeletons was very low, with 42.2% of skeletons being less than 25% complete.

	n	%
<25%	27	42.2
26-50%	15	23.4
51-75%	18	28.1
76-100%	4	6.3
Total	64	

Fig.10: Completeness of Skeletons

Fig.11: Preservation of Skeletons

	n	%
Poor	11	17.2
Moderate	29	45.3
Good	22	34.4
Excellent	2	13.1
Total	64	

Sex assessment was undertaken for all adults using the criteria outlined in Buikstra and Ubelaker (1994) and Bass (1995), paying particular attention to the features of the pubic bone (Phenice 1969). Sex assessment was not undertaken for sub-adult remains, as the available methods are generally regarded as being inaccurate (Brickley 2004). Overall, sex could be determined for 43 adults. Of these, seventeen were assessed as male or probably male, and 26 were assessed as female or possibly female. The remaining eleven adults could not be sexed (Fig. 12).

	n	%
Female	14	21.9
? Female	12	18.8
Male	10	15.6
? Male	7	10.9
Indeterminate adults	11	17.2
Unsexed sub-adults	10	15.6
Total	64	

Fig.12: Sex assessments for the Riccall population.

The sex ratio was 1:1.53 in favour of females, however this result was not statistically significant ($\chi^2=1.884$, $p=0.170$). The slight bias towards more females could be due to more females in the population using the Riccall cemetery, males choosing to be buried in a different cemetery, sex-related zoning within the cemetery combined with only partial excavation, or a high proportion of the unsexed adults being male. It is most likely that this is due to spatial differences within the cemetery, with slightly more females buried in the excavated area, as spatial patterns relating to sex have been observed at contemporary cemeteries including St Marks' Lincoln, Raunds Furnells (Northants) and Winchester Old Minster (Buckberry 2007).

Age was initially assessed by examining the level of bone development. Individuals with fused long bone epiphyses were considered adult, whereas individuals with unfused long bone epiphyses were considered sub-adult. Sub-adult age estimation was undertaken by examination of dental development, long bone length and the degree of epiphyseal fusion (Moorrees *et al.* 1963a; b; Maresh 1970; Scheuer & Black 2000). Individuals who could not be aged accurately have been grouped together as sub-adults, indicating that they are less than about 18 years of age.

Adult age is much more difficult to estimate than sub-adult age, as the regular developmental stages seen in sub-adults have mostly been achieved by the age of about 18 years. Exceptions to this rule are the fusion of the medial clavicle, iliac crest and first and second sacral bodies, which usually occur between 18 and 25 years (Webb & Suchey 1985: 218; Scheuer & Black 2000). Therefore, young adults (18 to 25 years) can usually be aged with a reasonable level of certainty. After 25

	Males	Females	Indeterminate	All	%
Foetus (<40 weeks in utero)	0	0	1	1	1.6
Neonate (birth to 1 month)	0	0	0	0	0
Infant (1 to 12 months)	0	0	1	1	1.6
Young child (1 to 6 years)	0	0	4	4	6.2
Older child (7 to 12 years)	0	0	2	2	3.1
Adolescent (13 to 17 years)	1	1	1	3	4.7
Sub-adult (<18 years)	0	0	1	1	1.6
Young adult (18 to 25 years)	1	3	0	4	6.2
Young middle adult (26 to 35 years)	3	8	2	13	20.3
Old middle adult (36 to 45 years)	5	5	1	11	17.2
Middle adult (26 to 45 years)	1	1	0	2	3.1
Mature adult (>45 years)	4	4	0	8	12.5
Adult (>18 years)	2	4	8	14	21.9
Total	17	26	21	64	

Fig.13: Age and Sex assessments for the Riccall population.

years, adult age estimation techniques rely on skeletal degeneration and dental wear, processes that can be highly variable both within and between different populations, and consequently adult age estimates are usually quite broad. Adults were grouped into four categories; those that could not be aged beyond stating that they were adult were grouped into a fifth category for individuals aged more than about 18 years. The sex and age structure of the population is given in Figure 13.

Stature was estimated for those individuals whose sex was determinable using the formulae developed by Trotter and Gleser, as modified by Trotter (1970). Where possible, bones from the lower limb were used to calculate stature, as the error levels for upper limb bones are much greater. The mean stature for males (including possible males) was 174.1 cm, with a standard deviation of 6.44. The mean stature for females (including possible females) was 159.9 cm, with a standard deviation of 6.16. Intra-site comparison indicated that the individuals from Riccall were of similar height to contemporary individuals from Yorkshire (Buckberry & Storm 2007).

PALAEOPATHOLOGY

All individuals from Riccall were examined macroscopically for evidence of pathology. Where appropriate, radiographs were taken to aid diagnosis. The full details of the palaeopathology, including more detailed examination of prevalence rates is included in the full archive level report (Buckberry & Storm 2007), however a brief summary is given here.

Dental pathology

Twenty-nine mandibles and 26 maxillae, containing 570 teeth and 758 observable tooth sockets, from a total of 36 individuals were available for analysis of dental pathology. A total of 45 teeth had carious lesions, giving a true prevalence rate (TPR) of 7.89%. 175 teeth had deposits of calculus (30.7%). Dental enamel hypoplasia (DEH) is caused by interruption in the formation of dental enamel in children, for example as a result of disease or prolonged episodes of malnutrition (Goodman & Rose 1991). It was observed on 77 teeth (13.51%) which came from 17 individuals. No dental abscesses were observed in the Riccall population, and just one apical granuloma was present, affecting 0.13% of observable tooth sockets. Ante-mortem tooth loss was present in 12 individuals, with 37 teeth lost in total (4.88% of sockets). All of the individuals with ante-mortem tooth loss were over 25 years old and all individuals with 5 or more teeth lost ante-mortem were over 35. Periodontal disease was observed in six individuals, affecting a total of 14 tooth sockets (8%).

Metabolic conditions

Four individuals had cribra orbitalia, three adult females and one young child. In all cases the lesions were healed at the time of death. One individual, 1974.121 [Infant 1], had diffuse, porous periosteal new bone formation across the ectocranial surfaces of the cranial bones and was most severe on the left and right temporal bones, mandible and occipital squama. The level of new bone formation is much more severe than would be expected to be seen with normal growth and the distribution across the cranium indicates that this may be a case of infantile scurvy (vitamin C deficiency); however the diagnostic lesions on the maxilla, orbital roof and greater wing of the sphenoid (Ortner & Ericksen 1997) could not be examined due to the absence of these bones for this individual.

Congenital conditions

Several minor congenital conditions were present in the Riccall population. One individual from Riccall, 1985.11 [6], had an additional (sixth) lumbar vertebra, which was completely sacralised. Two individuals (1974.121 [22] and 1974.121 [B]) had cleft neural arches in the sacrum. Cleft neural arches are fairly common in archaeological populations, and are often grouped together with spina bifida occulta. Recent research has indicated that cleft neural arches can easily be distinguished from spina bifida occulta as in the latter condition the vertebral lamina project posteriorly (Barnes 1994; Sture 2004). One individual, 1974.121 [18], had premature suture closure along the posterior half of the left squamosal suture, which had resulted in cranial asymmetry (Aufderheide & Rodríguez-Martín 1998, 52). It is

difficult to ascertain if this condition would have had any clinical significance. Spondylolysis is an ossification failure or fracture of the pars interarticularis of the vertebra, resulting in the separation of the vertebra into two parts. The aetiology of spondylolysis is still debated: it has been described as a congenital malformation or an activity-related stress fracture relating to hyperextension of the spine. These two causes are not incompatible - one individual may be congenitally predisposed to a stress fracture of the laminae while another may not (Aufderheide & Rodríguez-Martín 1998, 63-4). Spondylolysis of L5 was present in two individuals, 1974.121 [5] and 1974.121 [21]. Incomplete talo-calcaneal bridging was observed on the left side of 1974.121 [23]. There was no change to the shape of the bones, including the talo-tibial joint, which suggests the lesion was of congenital, rather than traumatic or infective origin (Calder & Calder 1977).

Periosteal Reactions and Non-Specific Infection

Periosteal reactions are characterised by a layer or layers of bone formation on the surface of the cortical bone. Periosteal reactions are often associated with infections, however they can be caused by different stimuli, and therefore it cannot be assumed that periosteal reactions are necessarily evidence of infection (Ortner 2003a). Twelve individuals at Riccall had periosteal reactions. In most cases of periostitis just a single bone was affected; the right tibia of 1974.121 [23] and 1985.11 [1], the left tibia of 1985.11 [2] and 1985.11 [8], the left fibula of 1974.121 [E], the right humerus of 1985.11 [6] and the right 5th metatarsal of 1985.11 [3]. In other individuals multiple bones were affected; both humeri of 1974.121 [5], both acetabula of 1974.121 [26] and the tibiae and fibulae of 1985.11 [26]. One individual, 1985.11 [18], had multiple layers of new bone formation present on many bones across the skeleton: the clavulae, scapulae, left ischium, right ilium, right femur. The multiple layers of bone reveal that this was a recurrent, long-term condition and the small areas of woven bone formation indicate that some of the lesions were still active at the time of death. None of the lesions on this skeleton were diagnostic of a specific condition and a lack of cranial lesions makes scurvy unlikely.

Osteomyelitis was observed in a single individual at Riccall. 1974.121 [J] had new bone formation on the right tibia with a small cloaca present. A radiograph confirmed the involvement of the medullary cavity, with a cavity which presumably held the sequestrum clearly visible inside the bone.

Lytic lesions at differing stages of healing were present on the frontal bone of 1985.11 [15]. These lesions are irregular and destructive with rounded margins, and perforate the outer table, but not the inner table, of the cranium (Fig. 14). They do not have the radial scarring or the uneven topography of caries sicca seen in cases of treponemal disease. Lytic lesions of the cranium are seen in tuberculosis (Hodgson et al. 1969; Rogers & Waldron 1989). Initially, lytic lesions in the spine of this individual were diagnosed as possible early tuberculosis (Buckberry & Storm 2007). Upon further reflection and research we now consider intervertebral disk herniation as a more likely differential diagnosis for the spinal lesions. Without diagnostic vertebral or rib lesions commonly found in tuberculosis, it is not possible to establish if the cranial lesions present in 1985.11 [15] were caused by tuberculosis.



Fig. 14: Lytic lesions (arrowed) on the frontal of 1985.11 [15].

This question could be answered using aDNA analysis in the future. Two further skeletons, 1974.121 [4a] and 1974.121 [E], had lytic lesions in the spine which were tentatively diagnosed as tuberculosis (Buckberry & Storm 2007). 1974.121 [E] had multiple lytic lesions in the spine that were overlain by taphonomic damage. 1974.121 [4a] had a single, round edged lytic lesion in the inferior surface of T11. In both cases the lesions are not typical of tuberculosis (Mays *et al.* 2001) and taphonomic damage to the vertebrae of 1974.121 [E] makes diagnosis particularly difficult for this case. On reflection, these are best not considered to be evidence of tuberculosis.

Trauma

Trauma was infrequently observed in the Riccall skeletal assemblage. There was no evidence of fractures, however two individuals had evidence of peri-mortem sharp force trauma. A third individual had bone changes similar to peri-mortem trauma; however these were probably due to post-mortem damage. A series of five shallow peri-mortem sharp force trauma injuries to the anterior of the distal third of the left radius was observed for individual 1985.11 [24] (Fig.15). In addition, a sixth cut mark was observed on the radial tuberosity of the same bone. Microscopic and SEM analysis confirmed that these lesions had very sharp edges and the characteristic 'twig-peel' effect to the edge of the blow. It is likely that these wounds were administered using a fine-edged metal instrument, however the reason for the trauma is unknown. They are very shallow and are not typical of battle trauma.



Fig. 15: Peri-mortem cut-marks on the anterior left radius of 1985.11 [24].

A probable peri-mortem sharp force injury was present on the proximal right femur of 1985.11 [18], an adolescent of unknown sex (Fig. 16). This femur was also affected by diffuse periostitis, with at least three layers of new bone formation evident across the shaft of the femur (see above). It is unlikely that the trauma observed was connected to the periostitis. The location of the trauma, very close to the neck of the femur, may indicate that this blow was aimed at the groin. Due to the porous nature of the periosteal reaction it was not possible to undertake SEM analysis to confirm this diagnosis.



Fig. 16: Peri-mortem sharp force trauma to the proximal right femur of 1985.11 [18] (arrowed). This individual also suffered from diffuse periosteal reactions across the skeleton, including the right femur.

Three possible peri-mortem cut marks were observed on the anterior left humerus of 1985.11 [10]. The most convincing injury was located at the insertion of *M. pectoralis major*, with two less convincing lesions present just inferior and superior to this possible injury. Microscopic analysis indicated that these may all be taphonomic damage, and SEM analysis confirmed post-mortem damage for the two most superior injuries. Although the SEM image of the most inferior trauma showed a clear straight edge to the lesion, the pale edges of the trauma identified during macroscopic analysis are more in keeping with post-mortem damage. The overall preservation of this humerus is moderate to poor, and it is impossible to determine if the most inferior lesion was due to peri-mortem trauma or post mortem damage; however the latter is more likely.

Joint Disease

Joint diseases were diagnosed using the criteria outlined by Rogers and Waldron (1995). 301 vertebrae were examined for changes to the apophyseal joints and vertebral bodies. In the apophyseal joints, osteophytes were present in 91 (30.2%) vertebrae, 42 (13.9%) vertebrae had porosity and 16 (5.3%) had eburnation. Males had higher prevalence rates of osteophytes and porosity for all vertebral apophyseal joints, and a higher prevalence of eburnation in the cervical apophyseal joints. However, females had higher prevalence rates of eburnation in the thoracic and lumbar apophyseal joints. All of these changes were more common in the older age categories, as would be expected for an age-related condition; eburnation was only present in older middle adults and mature adults. When the 301 vertebral bodies were assessed, osteophytes were present in 60 (19.9%) of vertebrae, and were more frequently observed in males than females. They were present throughout the spine. Porosity was observed on 41 (13.6%) vertebrae throughout the spine, with males having a higher prevalence than females of porosity on the thoracic and lumbar bodies, and females having more porosity than males in the cervical region.

Schmorl's nodes are small depressions in the superior and inferior surfaces of the vertebral body and are caused by prolapse of the nucleus pulposus of the intervertebral disc (Rogers & Waldron 1995, 27). Schmorl's nodes were more common in the thoracic spine in females (F: 14.9%; M: 11.4% of vertebrae) and in the lumbar spine in males (F: 2.2%; M: 7.5% of vertebrae). In addition, intervertebral disk herniation was present in the thoracic spine of skeleton 1985.11 [15].

Skeleton 1985.11 [6], a mature adult male, had bilateral inflammatory changes in the sacro-iliac joints with ankylosis occurring at the apex. The inflammatory changes were more severe in the ilium than the sacrum. Additionally, syndesmophytes were present on the anterior of the sacralised 6th lumbar vertebra and the lateral sides of the 5th lumbar vertebra. In both cases these syndesmophytes arise from the mid-body, not the margin. Osteophytes were present on the left margin of L4, and the superior and inferior surfaces of vertebral bodies L2 to L6 were porous and irregular. The inter-vertebral spaces were retained. These changes were probably due to a seronegative spondyloarthropathy. Bilateral sacro-iliitis is usually indicative of ankylosing spondylitis, whereas the sacro-iliac joint changes seen in psoratic arthritis and Reiter's syndrome are usually asymmetrical (Rogers & Waldron 1995,

77). However, if this is a case of ankylosing spondylitis, it is at quite an early stage, prior to spinal fusion and loss of the inter-vertebral disk spaces, which would be unusual in a mature adult, given the age of onset for ankylosing spondylitis is usually in the teens or mid 20s (Rogers & Waldron 1995, 64).

Rogers and Waldron state that osteoarthritis can only be diagnosed either if eburnation is present on a joint surface, or if two of the following changes are observed: porosity, new bone formation on the joint surface, contour change, osteophytes (Rogers & Waldron 1995, 33-4). Contour change was observed in the left acetabulum of 1974.121 [4a] and on the medial condyle of the right femur of 1974.121 [E]. Porosity was observed in the acetabula of 1974.121 [G] and the right acetabulum of 1974.121 [J]. However, on their own these changes cannot be used to diagnose osteoarthritis. One case of osteoarthritis could be diagnosed. Individual 1985.11 [4], a probable male mature adult, had irregular surface contour changes and porosity in the right acetabulum (the left os coxae was absent), and multiple sub-chondral cysts and irregular contour changes on both femoral heads. In addition, eburnation was observed on the left femoral head.

Neoplastic Disease

Both benign and malignant tumours may be observed in bone, however at Riccall only benign tumours were recorded. A mature adult female, 1985.11 [9], had a benign osteoma on the left parietal (CPR = 1.56%). This prevalence rate is similar to that for modern autopsy samples (Ortner 2003b, 506).

Individual 1986.11 [6], a mature adult male, had four small focal non-striated well-delimited osteoblastic lesions with a cortical cap on the antero-medial surface of the proximal right humerus shaft. The same bone had an area of periostitis on the posterior of the shaft, but it is impossible to determine if they were related. Skeleton 1974.121 [E] had a small blastic lesion on the superior surface of the neck of the left talus, adjacent to the navicular facet. A small bony protrusion was observed on the medial aspect of the proximal shaft of the right femur of 1985.11 [9]. The cause of these blastic lesions is unknown.

SUMMARY

It can be concluded that the Riccall cemetery held a normal lay population, with both males and females of all ages buried in it. A lower number of infants and young children were recovered than would be expected in a living population. Although sub-adults are under-represented, this is usually the case for excavated (archaeological) populations, and is probably the result of adult bones being stronger and therefore better preserved, coupled with recovery biases due to excavation techniques, and, perhaps, to age-related zoning of interments within this only partially excavated cemetery. Cemeteries of the late Anglo-Saxon/Anglo-Scandinavian period are noted for age- and sex-related spatial zoning: clusters of infants and young children have been observed at cemeteries such as Raunds (Northants.), St Peter's Barton-on-Humber (Lincs.) and Hartlepool (Cleveland), with the former two examples being noted for the presence of high numbers of children buried close to the walls of the church (Boddington 1996; Crawford 1999; Buckberry 2007); and clusters of males have

been identified at prestigious locations within cemeteries, as seen at Raunds and St Mark's Lincoln (Gilmour & Stocker 1986; Boddington 1996; Buckberry 2007). In addition it has been noted that males are more common in the higher status cemeteries of the Anglo-Scandinavian period, indicating that some males were deliberately buried in a different cemetery to the remainder of the community (Hadley 2004).

The Riccall population appears to have had a similar level of health to other Anglo-Scandinavian populations. The prevalence rates of spondylolysis, Schmorl's nodes, intervertebral disk herniation and joint disease all testify to the arduous lifestyle of an agricultural community, but are not high enough to be abnormal. Likewise, the rates of stress markers would appear to be fairly normal for an early medieval population.

Two cases of peri-mortem trauma show that some of the Riccall population may have been involved in inter-personal violence, but this small number of cases does not support Wenham's (1960) suggestion that the cemetery relates to the Battle of Stamford Bridge. Indeed, the high numbers of females and the presence of sub-adults of all ages would not support this interpretation.

COMBINED O- AND SR-ISOTOPE ANALYSIS OF HUMAN TOOTH ENAMEL SAMPLES

by Paul Budd

A small isotopic investigation was undertaken on samples of dental enamel from eleven human skeletons from Riccall Landing, North Yorkshire. Samples were analysed at different times in two batches using differing, although related, techniques. Batch 1 involved six individuals from the 1985 excavations. Strontium isotope analyses were undertaken using Thermal Ionisation Mass Spectrometry (TIMS) and Oxygen-isotope analysis using the laser fluorination technique to study 'whole tissue' tooth enamel samples. Batch 2 also consisted of six individuals, four from the 1974 and two from the 1985 excavations. In this case strontium isotope analyses were carried out by Plasma Ionisation Multi-collector Mass Spectrometry (PIMMS) and oxygen isotope analysis of the tooth enamel phosphate was undertaken by TC/EA Continuous Flow Isotope Ratio Mass Spectrometry after conversion of the sample to AgPO_4 .

The link between the composition of skeletal remains and place of residence is possible because of systematic natural variations in the isotopes of various elements between localities (Faure, 1986). Both strontium and oxygen become incorporated into skeletal tissue during its formation so that the isotopic composition of a particular tissue in life may come to reflect the characteristics of the place of residence when the tissue was formed. Strontium isotopes have been used in studies of archaeological residential mobility for some time, but the geographical resolution and reliability of the approach has been increased in recent years by a better appreciation of Strontium diagenesis (Budd *et al.*, 2000; Trickett *et al.*, 2003) and by the addition of complementary Oxygen-isotope data (Budd *et al.*, 2004).

The isotope ^{87}Sr is produced by the radioactive decay of rubidium, an element occurring naturally in many rocks and minerals. The ratio of $^{87}\text{Sr}/^{86}\text{Sr}$ therefore

depends on the composition and age of the rock or mineral in which it is found. Strontium is taken up by organisms, but the relative proportions of its isotopes are unaltered in the processes, so that soil, plant and animal strontium isotope ratios have all been shown to be related to those of the underlying geology and local hydrology (Blum *et al.*, 2000). The characteristic strontium-isotope ratios of particular geographical areas and their persistence in food webs provides the basis for the reconstruction of residency patterns. Although the Strontium-isotope characteristics of particular localities can be crudely predicted from the geology, most workers utilize measurement of soil strontium-isotope composition to characterize a locality. Care is needed if such measurements are to be representative of the 'bioavailable' strontium taken up by plants and animals. Here, we use a weak acid solution to leach 'labile' cations (those available to the soil exchange and solution reservoirs) from the soil for analysis (Capo *et al.*, 1998).

Oxygen isotopes also vary in the environment in a systematic way, but in this case as a result of differences in climate and geography rather than geology. In the body, the oxygen isotope composition of skeletal tissue is directly related to that of oxygen consumed and this is dominated by drinking water (Longinelli, 1984). Unlike Strontium, biological processes alter Oxygen isotopes quite readily, but among mammals, skeletal tissues form at a relatively constant body temperature so that the oxygen isotope fractionation that does take place is very similar within any species. Calibrations which relate tissue phosphate $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ to that of drinking water have been developed by a number of workers (Levinson *et al.*, 1987; Longinelli, 1984; Luz *et al.*, 1984). Although all of these are problematic, recent work by Millard (*pers. comm.*) suggests that the Luz calibration is the only one to yield realistic calibrated values across the full range of values observed in humans.

The successful reconstruction of residential mobility by isotopic measurement rests on the presumption that the elements of interest preserved within archaeological tissue are those incorporated *in vivo*, and that these are, at least substantially, unaffected by subsequent contamination. Sr diagenesis has been addressed by various workers (Budd *et al.*, 2000; Sealy *et al.*, 1991; Sillen, 1986; Sillen and LeGeros, 1991) who have found that the most highly mineralised tissues, especially dental enamel, are the most resistant to diagenesis. Methods for decontaminating less resilient material like bone have been suggested, but remain in some doubt (Trickett *et al.*, 2003). Enamel, by contrast, proves to be a reliable reservoir of *in-vivo* Sr in the great majority of cases (Budd *et al.*, 2000).

Dental enamel has always been the tissue of choice for Oxygen-isotope analysis because of the stability of the tissue and, in particular, of the tightly bound oxygen within its inorganic phase. The biological apatite within enamel has the approximate stoichiometry $\text{Ca}_{10}(\text{PO}_4)_6(\text{OH})_2$, but in humans about 2-3% of the mineral is carbonate of which about 90% substitutes for the phosphate group and the remainder for the hydroxyl group (Bryant *et al.*, 1996). There are therefore three 'compartments' in which oxygen can be found, phosphate, carbonate and hydroxyl. These also have varied oxygen contents, containing 35, 3.3 and <1.6 wt.% oxygen respectively. Phosphate is clearly the dominant reservoir of enamel oxygen, but the strong bonding

which makes it so resistant to diagenesis also makes it difficult to extract for analysis. Although both carbonate and phosphate phases of biological apatites have been shown to preserve biogenic oxygen, the carbonate phase is generally considered more susceptible to diagenesis (Iacumin *et al.*, 1996). Oxygen isotope measurements of Batch 1 samples considered here relate to the 'whole' tissue (i.e. phosphate, carbonate and hydroxyl) whereas those of Batch 2 involve conversion of the sample to AgPO_4 and relate only to the tooth enamel phosphate.

Teeth are particularly advantageous for study not just because of the excellent preservation of biogenic elements in enamel, but also because different teeth preserve elements ingested at particular stages of life. Although development of the permanent first molar is initiated in utero, most of the permanent dentition is formed in childhood from 3-4 months after birth until about 12 or more years of age. Once formed, the enamel is not remodelled, thus its composition remains a reliable indicator of childhood exposure, with the specific stage of life depending on the tooth selected.

To interpret the strontium- and oxygen- isotope data for Riccall, it is necessary to consider data, for both strontium and oxygen, resulting from two different analytical techniques. For strontium isotope measurement the TIMS and PIMMS techniques produce very closely comparable data which are essentially rendered directly comparable by correction to accepted values of the same international standard (NBS987). For the oxygen isotope data complications arise. The laser fluorination technique used for Batch 1 utilizes oxygen extracted from the 'whole' enamel sample including that of the carbonate and hydroxyl groups within the bio-apatite. The continuous flow MS technique used for Batch 2 is restricted to oxygen extracted from the bio-apatite phosphate. Both methods then rely on a calibration to predict the isotopic composition of the drinking water which gave rise to the tissue. When the Batch 1 analyses were carried out, calibration of enamel total oxygen to drinking water had normally been based on Levinson (1987). By the time of the Batch 2 study a review by Millard (*pers. comm.*) suggested that the calibration of Luz *et al.* (1984) may be more appropriate to relate enamel phosphate oxygen to that of drinking water.

Results from Batch 1 are shown in Figure 17. Variable $^{87}\text{Sr}/^{86}\text{Sr}$ compositions, suggest diverse places of childhood residence for those examined. However, such diversity is also reflected in bioavailable strontium in the local area. The full range reported in Batch 1 can be found within the Vale of York and its immediate surroundings. However, the estimates of drinking water oxygen-isotope composition, drawn from the Batch 1 samples and based on the Levinson (1987) calibration were too depleted in ^{18}O for UK surface waters (less than -8.5‰ VSMOW), which, at the time of analysis, suggested a potential Scandinavian place of origin for all of those investigated.

Results from Batch 2 are given in Figure 18 and plotted, together with the Batch 1 data in Figure 19.

The range of $^{87}\text{Sr}/^{86}\text{Sr}$ data for samples from both Batches 1 and 2 overlaps with one exception (1974.121.SK1) which is an outlier with a particularly non-radiogenic ratio. Although a fairly large range is indicated for the other eleven individuals (0.7098 - 0.7116), this is a smaller range than that observed for early medieval

Individual	Age	Sex	Tooth	$^{87}\text{Sr}/^{86}\text{Sr}$	$\delta^{18}\text{O}_{\text{bio}}$ ‰	$\delta^{18}\text{O}_{\text{dw}}$ ‰
1985.11.SK7	Adult	M	P ₁ right	0.711638	15.73	-10.2
1985.11.SK9	Adult	U	P ₁ left	0.711251	16.22	-9.1
1985.11.SK15	Yng. Adult	F	P ₁ right	0.710525	16.05	-9.5
1985.11.SK11*	Adult	?M	P ₁ left	0.709978	16.31	-8.9
1985.11.SK18	Adolescent	U	P ₁ left	0.710929	15.99	-9.6
1985.11.SK22	Adult	M	P ₁ left	0.710827	15.34	-11.0

Fig.17 Batch 1 tooth enamel $^{87}\text{Sr}/^{86}\text{Sr}$ and $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ data from six skeletons from the 1985 excavations at Riccall Landing. $^{87}\text{Sr}/^{86}\text{Sr}$ analyses were acquired by Thermal Ionisation Mass Spectrometry following standard cation exchange column chemistry. Analytical precision for replicates of NBS987 were 35ppm (2 σ), $^{87}\text{Sr}/^{86}\text{Sr}$ data are corrected to the accepted standard value of 0.710240, procedural blanks were <300pg. O-isotope analyses were undertaken the laser fluorination technique followed by conversion to CO₂ and dual inlet IR-MS to give total bio-apatite ($\delta^{18}\text{O}_{\text{bio}}$) O-isotope composition. *In-vivo* drinking water oxygen isotope composition ($\delta^{18}\text{O}_{\text{dw}}$) is estimated using the calibration of Levinson (Levinson *et al.*, 1987). *Originally labelled 'SK16'.

populations recently studied by both Budd and Hughes (*pers. comm.*). The range is also similar to that found within soils formed on Triassic sediments in the burial area (0.7103-0.7115) (Budd, unpublished data). 1974.121.SK1 has a tooth enamel $^{87}\text{Sr}/^{86}\text{Sr}$ composition consistent with soils from a range of Carboniferous, Permian, Jurassic and Upper Cretaceous sediments which outcrop within a few tens of kilometres to both the north-east and west of Riccall.

Individual	Age	Sex	Tooth	$^{87}\text{Sr}/^{86}\text{Sr}$	$\delta^{18}\text{O}_{\text{p}}$ ‰	$\delta^{18}\text{O}_{\text{dw}}$ ‰
1974.121.SK1	Adult	?M	P ₂ left	0.708747	17.00	-7.3
1985.11.SK1	Adult	M	P ₂ left	0.709935	17.70	-6.4
1974.121.SK4	Adult	M	P ₂ right	0.709891	18.38	-5.5
1985.11.SK9	Adult	U	P ₂ left	0.710600	18.27	-5.7
1974.121.SK18	Adult	?F	P ₂ right	0.710968	18.18	-5.8
1974.121.SK23	Adult	U	M ₃ right	0.709789	17.53	-6.6

Fig.18. Tooth enamel Sr- and O-isotope data for Batch 2, six individuals, from Riccall Landing. $^{87}\text{Sr}/^{86}\text{Sr}$ ratios were measured using a Finnigan Neptune Multicollector Mass Spectrometer. The international standard NBS987 gave $^{87}\text{Sr}/^{86}\text{Sr}$ values of 0.710252 ± 0.000013 (2 σ , n=12). All Sr ratios have been corrected to the accepted value for the standard of 0.710240. Enamel phosphate O-isotope analysis was carried out by TC/EA Continuous Flow Isotope Ratio Mass Spectrometry. The oxygen results are presented in the standard d notation, relative to relative to Vienna Standard Mean Ocean Water (VSMOW).

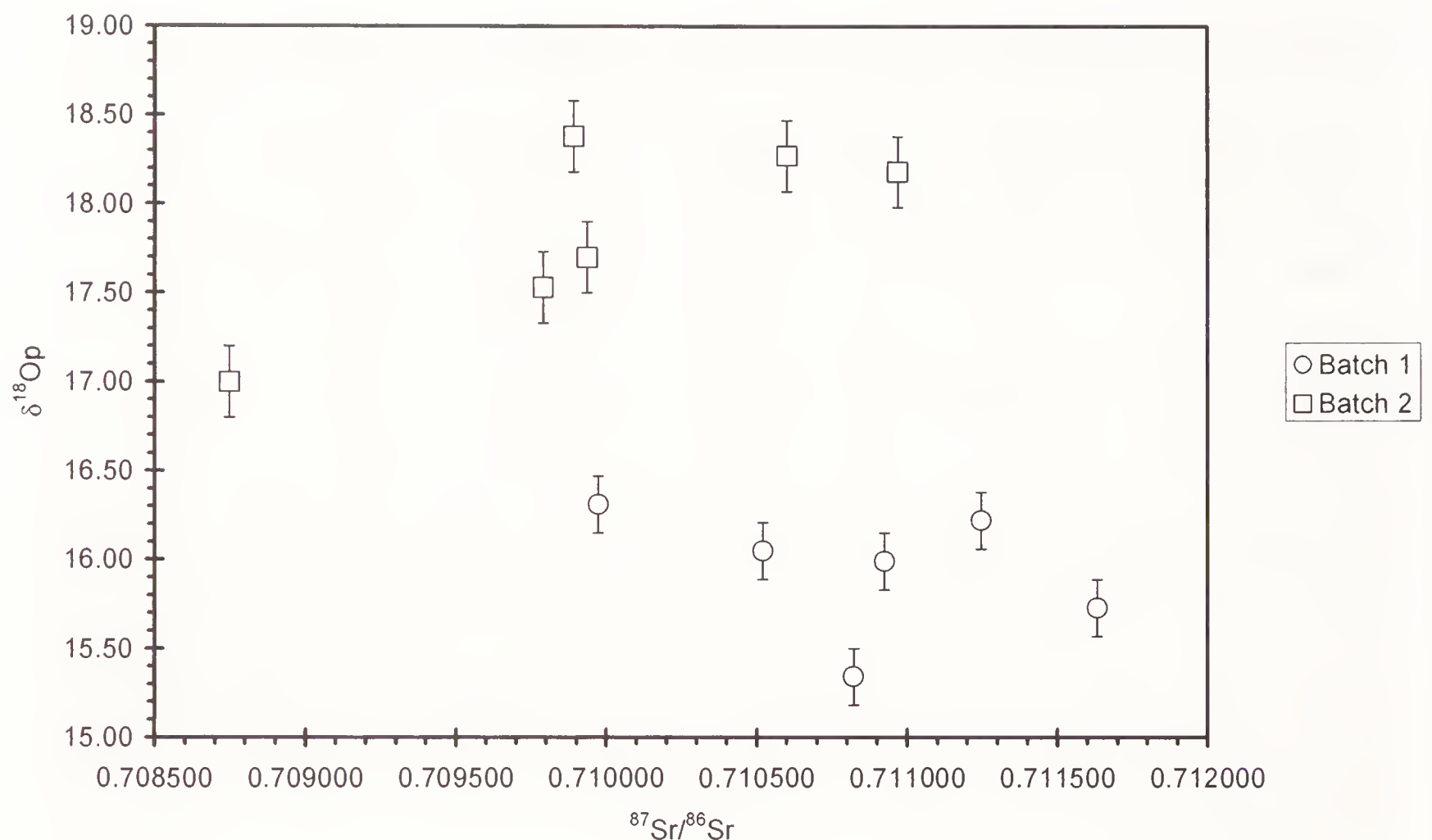


Fig.19. Plot showing the relationship between tooth enamel $^{87}\text{Sr}/^{86}\text{Sr}$ and $\delta^{18}\text{Op}/\delta^{18}\text{Obio}$ for both Batch 1 and 2 samples. O-isotope errors are 2σ estimates. $^{87}\text{Sr}/^{86}\text{Sr}$ error bars (2σ) are smaller than the symbols.

The tooth enamel phosphate oxygen isotope ($\delta^{18}\text{Op}$) results for Batch 2 appear to be highly divergent to those of the bio-apatite ($\delta^{18}\text{Obio}$) from Batch 1 despite the fact that both batches were drawn from individuals considered representative of the burial population as a whole. It is strongly suggested that the observed difference is, in this case, an artefact of analysis. The AgPO_4 technique by which the Batch 2 analyses were undertaken is considered more robust than the laser fluorination method used for Batch 1 samples. Furthermore, published drinking water calibrations relate to tissue phosphate rather than the total mineral oxygen produced by the laser method. The results suggest that the laser technique may be subject to systematic error which demands further investigation. Calibration of the Batch 2 phosphate oxygen using the, currently preferred, Luz equation (Luz *et al.*, 1984) gives drinking water $\delta^{18}\text{O}$ (Fig.18) which, given the large uncertainty introduced by the current calibration (Millard, *pers. comm.*), is broadly consistent with UK precipitation. In conclusion, both oxygen and strontium isotope data are consistent with a local origin for all twelve individuals investigated.

ABSOLUTE DATING

by W. Derek Hamilton and Gerry McCormac

Six human bone samples were submitted to Queen's University Belfast for high-precision radiocarbon dating from the cemetery site at Riccall Landing, North Yorkshire. The samples were pretreated as described by Longin (1971), processed according to methods outlined by McCormac (1992) and references therein, and measured by liquid scintillation counting (Noakes *et al* 1965). The goal of this programme of radiocarbon dating has been to establish the date of use of the cemetery with the hope of being able to combine this information with oxygen isotope analysis to suggest both the date and origin of these individuals.

The results are given in Figure 20, and are quoted in accordance with the international standard known as the Trondheim convention (Stuiver and Kra 1986). They are conventional radiocarbon ages (Stuiver and Polach 1977).

The calibrations of these results, which relate the radiocarbon measurements directly to the calendrical time scale, are given in Figure 20 and in outline in Figure 21. All have been calculated using the datasets published by Reimer *et al* (2004) and the computer program OxCal (v3.10) (Bronk Ramsey 1995; 1998; 2001). The calibrated date ranges cited within the text are those for 95% confidence. They are quoted in the form recommended by Mook (1986), with the end points rounded outward to 5 years. The ranges in Figure 20 have been calculated according to the maximum intercept method (Stuiver and Reimer 1986); all other ranges are derived from the probability method (Stuiver and Reimer 1993). Those ranges printed in italics in the text and tables are posterior density estimates, derived from the mathematical modelling.

The $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ and $\delta^{15}\text{N}$ values from this site (Fig. 23) suggest a very small marine component in the diet, which is not likely to affect the radiocarbon dating significantly (Chisholm *et al* 1982; Schoeninger *et al* 1983). The C:N ratios suggests that bone preservation was sufficiently good to have confidence in the radiocarbon determinations (Figure 20) (Masters 1987; Tuross *et al* 1988).

As there was no stratigraphic relationship between any of the burials, the chronological model is relatively simple and only assumes the cemetery was in continuous use (Buck *et al* 1992; Steier and Rom 2000). The results are statistically significantly different and probably do not represent a "single event" burial (eg, battle, plague), but rather an extended period of burial beginning in the 7th and ending in the 12th century AD (Fig. 22).

Laboratory Number	Sample	Material	$\delta^{13}\text{C}$ (‰)	$\delta^{15}\text{N}$ (‰)	C:N	Radiocarbon Age (BP)	Calibrated Date (95% confidence)	Posterior density estimate (95% probability)
UB-6179	1974.121 Skeleton E	Human bone	- 19.2	10.6	2.6	1017 ± 15	cal AD 990 – 1030	cal AD 985 – 1030
UB-6180	1974.121 Skeleton 18	Human bone	- 19.0	11.2	2.6	965 ± 15	cal AD 1020 – 1150	cal AD 1015 – 1055 (at 46%) or cal AD 1080 – 1130 (at 41%) or cal AD 1135 – 1155 (at 8%)
UB-6181	1985.11 Skeleton 1	Human bone	- 18.5	11.4	2.6	971 ± 22	cal AD 1015 – 1155	cal AD 1015 – 1060 (at 46%) or cal AD 1075 – 1155 (at 49%)
UB-6182	1985.11 Skeleton 17	Human bone	- 18.4	9.8	2.6	972 ± 15	cal AD 1020 – 1150	cal AD 1015 – 1050 (at 55%) or cal AD 1085 – 1125 (at 34%) or cal AD 1135 – 1150 (at 6%)
UB-6183	1976.27 Skeleton A	Human bone	- 18.8	11.4	2.6	926 ± 16	cal AD 1030 – 1165	cal AD 1035 – 1160
UB-6184	1974.121 Skeleton 4	Human bone	- 18.6	11.4	2.7	1256 ± 19	cal AD 680 – 805	cal AD 680 – 785 (at 78%) or cal

Fig. 20: Radiocarbon measurements (made at Queen's University Belfast) and stable isotope results (Rafter Radiocarbon Laboratory, NZ) from Riccall Landing.

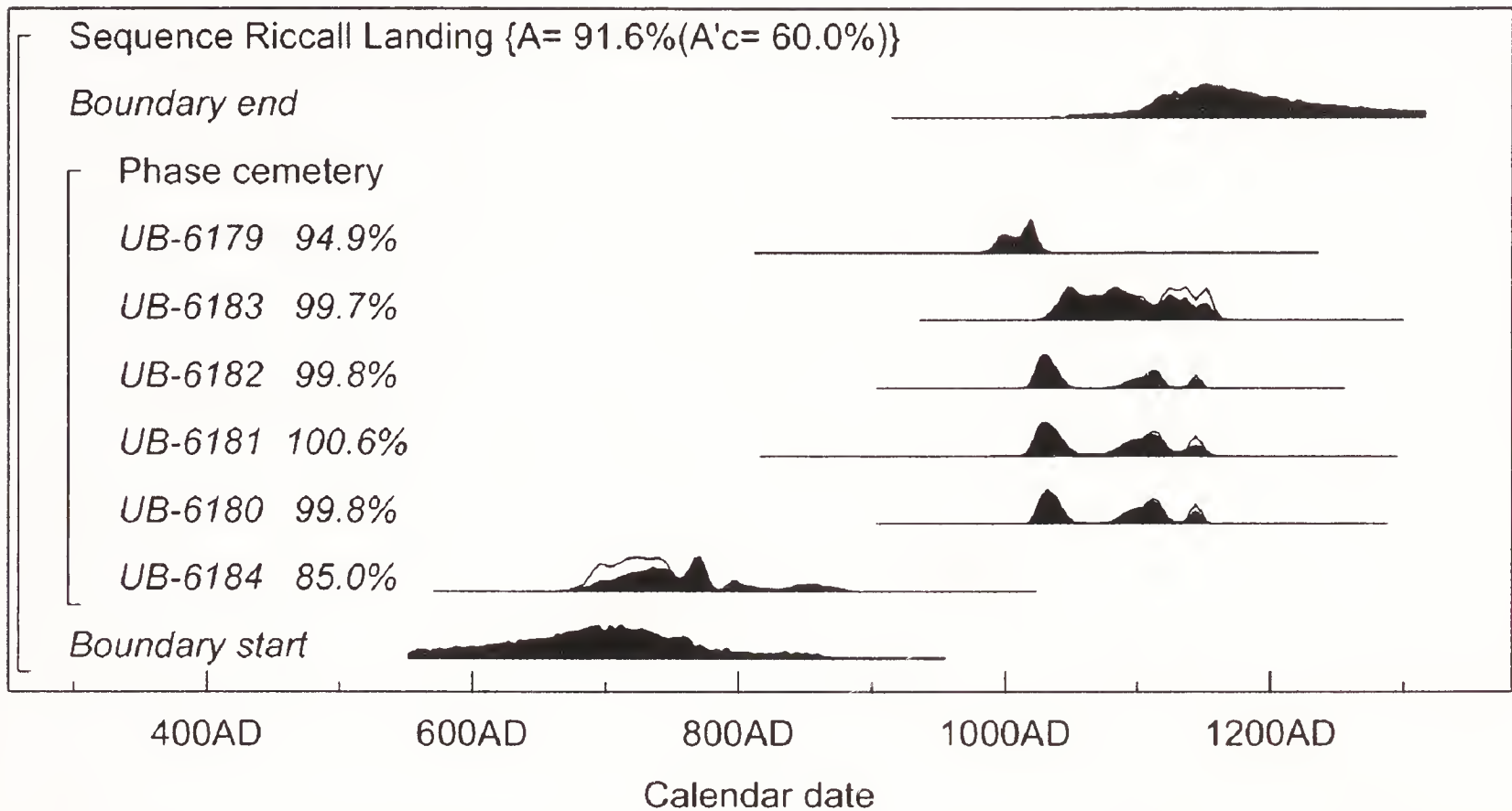


Fig. 21: Chronological model of burials from Riccall Landing. The distributions in outline represent the calibration of each result by the probability method (Stuiver and Reimer 1993). The solid distributions are posterior density estimates of the calendar date for each sample. The model structure is exactly defined by the square brackets and OxCal keywords at the left of the diagram.

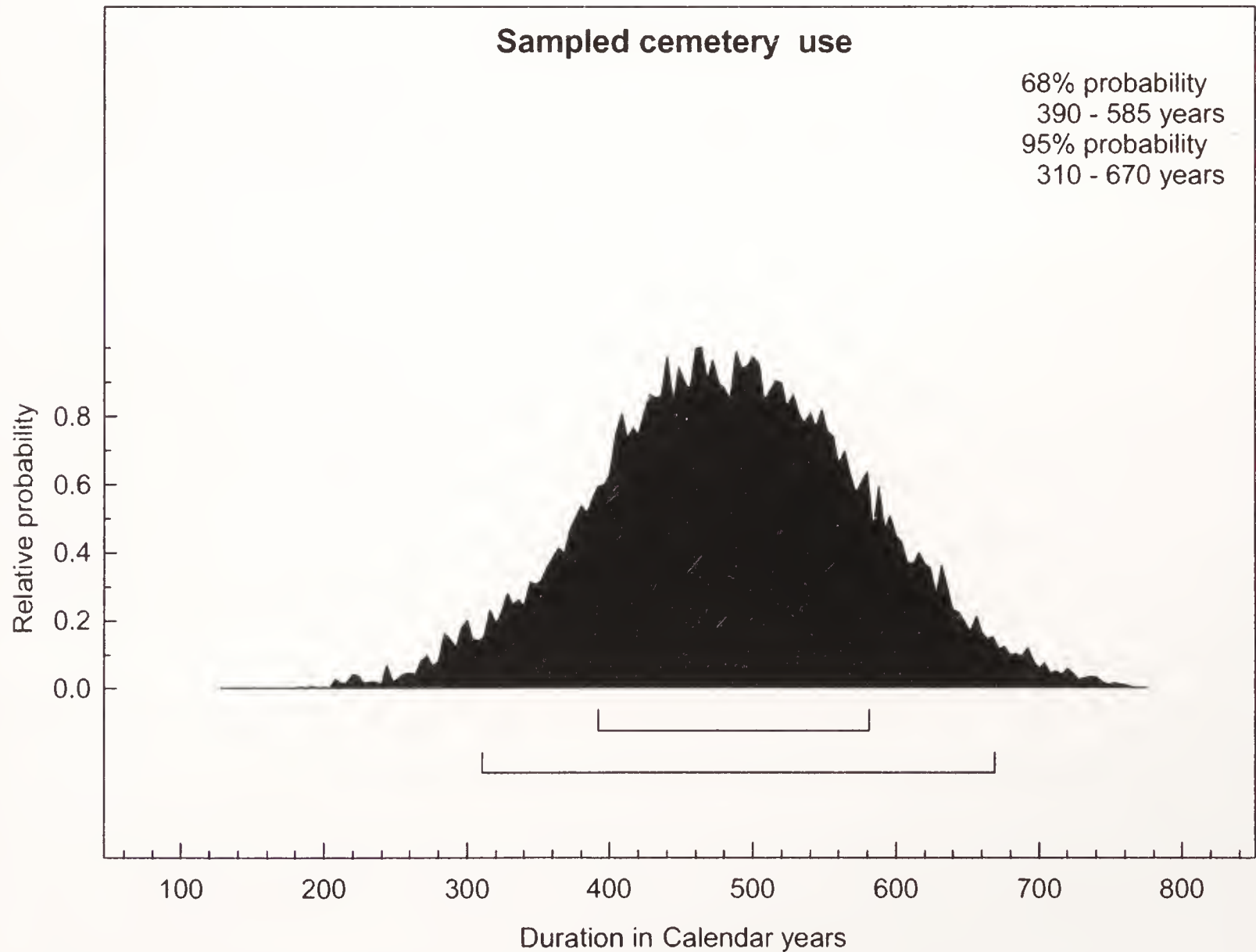


Fig. 22: Probability distribution showing the span of burial activity at Riccall Landing.

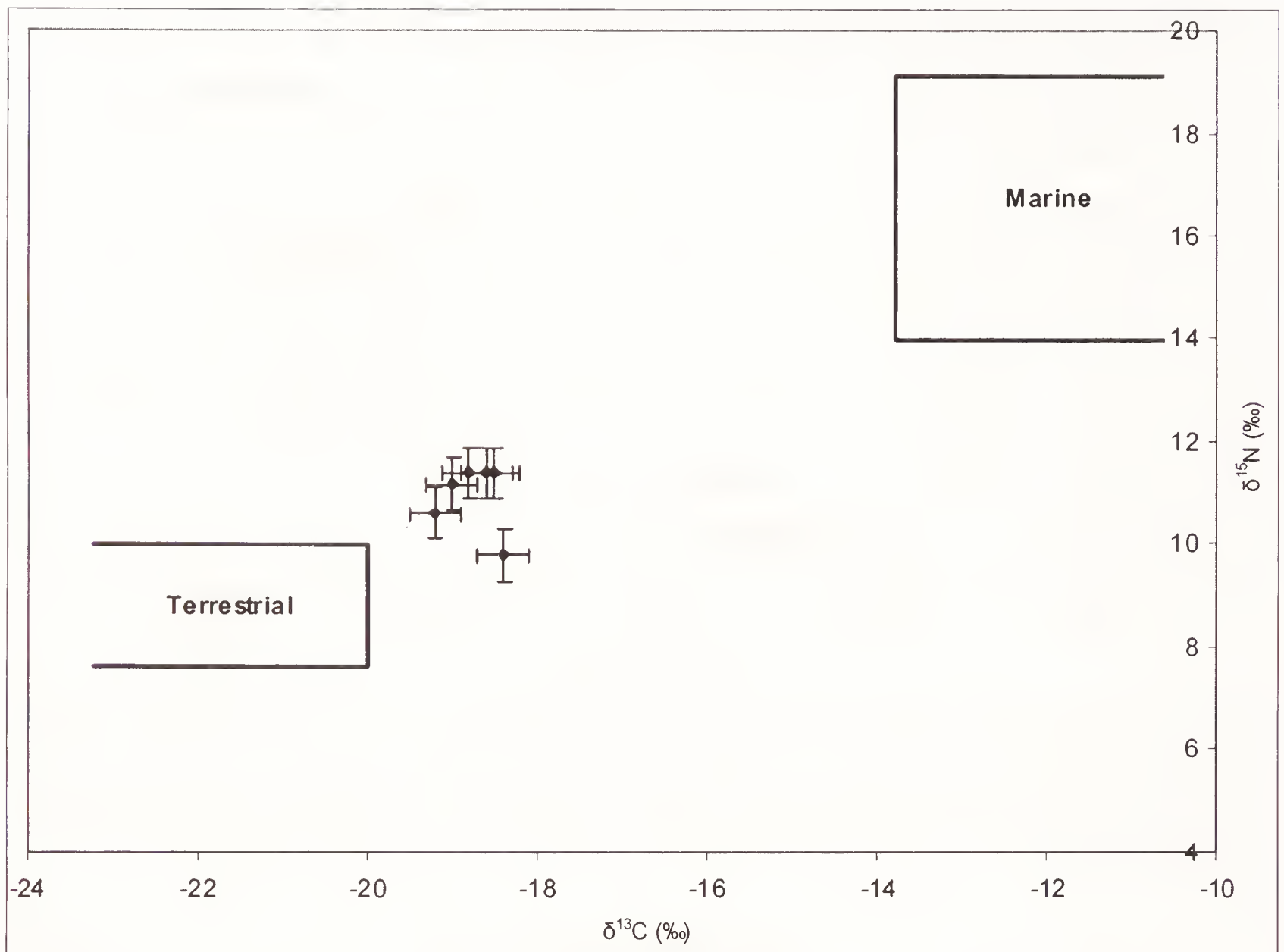


Fig. 23: Estimated protein foods contribution to stable isotope values in bone. Stable isotope values in these human bone samples suggest that diet contained predominantly terrestrial sources of protein. Boxes are based on known ranges for protein sources (Mays 1998, fig. 9).

OVERALL CONCLUSIONS

Osteological assessment indicates that the skeletal sample recovered so far from the cemetery at Riccall Landing embraces a cross-section of population that incorporates sub-adults (including one foetus, an infant, five children and an adolescent), males, females and the very old. This is clearly not a cemetery exclusively dedicated to males of warrior age, and there is evidence of weapon trauma visible on only two of the skeletons.

The radiocarbon dating also suggests that this is not exclusively a battle cemetery linked to events at Riccall in 1066. Instead, it points to a span of use covering several hundred years, starting in the seventh century and continuing beyond the Norman conquest to end in the twelfth century.

The results of the recent isotope analyses contrast with those from the earlier work which suggested that the cemetery population originated in the Baltic area. The six new results, which utilized a more robust methodology, are interpreted as being consistent with a local origin for these individuals, and a review of the overall data indicates that both oxygen and strontium isotope data are consistent with a local origin for all twelve individuals investigated.

Taken together, the results of these three strands of investigation remove the

possibility that the Landing Lane cemetery is wholly the direct result of the Battle of Stamford Bridge and the rout to Riccall. The model now advanced is that this is a cemetery of 7th-12th century date, serving a settlement in the vicinity. It is possible that victims of the events of 25th September 1066 could have been laid to rest in this cemetery, but there is no proof that this occurred.

There is sufficient Roman pottery to hint that there may have been a focus of later Roman activity somewhere in the vicinity. However, the inspiration for initiating a cemetery at this particular location, perhaps in the seventh century, remains unknown. No pottery or other artefacts of early medieval - Anglo-Norman date, which might point to secular occupation or even to the existence of a religious community, are known to have been found in the area occupied by the cemetery. However, while the hurried and limited investigations to date have not located any evidence for a church built either in timber or in stone, the possibility that there was an ecclesiastical focus here, given the relatively large area within which burials have been found, and the long duration throughout which burial was practised here, should not be discounted. To link the cemetery with one of the two major villas referred to in Domesday Book is speculation.

What brought burial at Riccall Landing to an end is also unknown, although the termination of burial at both long-established and short-lived cemeteries and churchyards during these centuries is a phenomenon that is increasingly recognized in the archaeological record (Hadley 2007, *passim*). By the eleventh century churchyard burial, as opposed to interment in cemeteries unconnected with any church, was nearly always the rule (*ibid*, 199); but a hypothesis that all later burials at Riccall became focused around a new church founded on a new site in the present village of Riccall, where the parish church of St Mary has fabric which dates back to the 12th century, is also unproven, for the use of that site before the 12th century is unknown. The possibility that there was a pre-Norman focus of burial and Christianity there cannot be ruled out.

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MEDIEVAL BURGAGE PLOTS IN BEDALE, NORTH YORKSHIRE

By Jennifer Proctor with Ian Baxter, Christopher Cumberpatch, Enid Allison, Alexandra Schmidl, Allan Hall and John Carrott

Archaeological investigations undertaken by Pre-Construct Archaeology in 2002 and 2003 on land to the rear of 26 Market Place, Bedale revealed a sequence of medieval burgage plot boundaries with the recovered pottery assemblage demonstrating that these were in place by at least the 13th-14th century, with reinstatement on a number of occasions. Part of a narrow plot extending back from the street frontage was exposed within the excavated area, with evidence of subdivision. Later medieval activity was represented by the corner of a stone structure, probably an outbuilding, of 14th-15th century date and a yard surface. Developed soil suggesting that this backlot area had been used as gardens from the late medieval period until the 19th century.

INTRODUCTION

A phased programme of archaeological investigations was undertaken by Pre-Construct Archaeology Limited in advance of redevelopment of land to the rear of 26 Market Place, Bedale, North Yorkshire (central National Grid Reference SE 265 881). The archaeological project was commissioned by CgMs Consulting, on behalf of McCarthy and Stone (Developments) Limited, and monitored by the Heritage Unit of North Yorkshire County Council, on behalf of the Local Planning Authority, Hambleton District Council. A preliminary archaeological evaluation (BED 02), undertaken in Spring 2002, revealed the presence of a prehistoric wetland area, comprising substantial alluvial sediments representing deposition within a body of water, such as a lake, overlain by an extensive peat formation. Radiocarbon dating of the peat placed accumulation of the material in the Mesolithic period. Archaeological remains of medieval and post-medieval date were also recorded in the evaluation trenches, with Trench 1 containing important remains of medieval date, including the corner of a structure. A more extensive open area excavation (BED 03) was undertaken in the autumn of 2003 in order to further investigate the ancient wetland and overlying medieval deposits. The excavation focussed on the footprint of the main building in the development, located in the central part of the site, with a total of c. 1,100 square metres being investigated. Evaluation Trench 1 lay to the northeast of this area, with the remains exposed therein remaining preserved in situ. A paper describing these wetland deposits has been prepared for publication (Gearey *et al*, forthcoming). The excavation revealed segments of ditches representing the boundaries defining medieval burgage plots and there was evidence for longevity in the use of these boundaries.

SITE LOCATION AND DESCRIPTION

Bedale is a small market town located on the extreme western edge of the Vale of Mowbray, a low-lying area of fertile agricultural land, with Wensleydale forming the

margin of the Yorkshire Dales to the west and the North Yorkshire Moors rising to the east (Fig. 1). The solid geology of the area consists of the Cadeby Formation (formerly Lower Magnesian Limestone). The local drift geology comprises laminated silt and boulder clay, interleaved in places with fluvio-glacial sand and gravel (Powell *et al.* 1992). Due to its topographic advantages, the Vale of Mowbray has always been an important transport route; the modern A1 road, which runs 2 km to the east of the town, follows the approximate line of the Roman road, Dere Street. Other well-known North Yorkshire market towns, Richmond, Ripon and Northallerton, lie within 20 km.

Bedale developed along the bank of the Bedale Beck, which flows into the River Swale 5km to the northeast. The layout of the core of the town has survived from the medieval period, with a broad curved street, Market Place, running northwest-southeast and lined with two- and three-storey brick buildings, mostly of late 18th century origin. These front 'ladders' of long, narrow rear plots extend to Bedale Beck to the northeast, and a back lane, Wycar, to the southwest (Figs. 2 and 3).

The site is located towards the southeastern end of Market Place, southwest of the street frontage, and comprises a roughly rectangular block of land northeast-southwest aligned and covering 0.5 hectares (Fig. 2). The site encompasses two ancient backlots between the street frontage and back lane and, prior to the archaeological project, was occupied by derelict buildings and open areas of yard and hardstanding. Ground level across the majority of the excavation area was at c. 40.0 m OD. There was a distinct step-up in ground level in the northwestern corner of the site; for example, evaluation Trench 5 was sited on hardstanding at 41.30 m OD (Fig. 2).

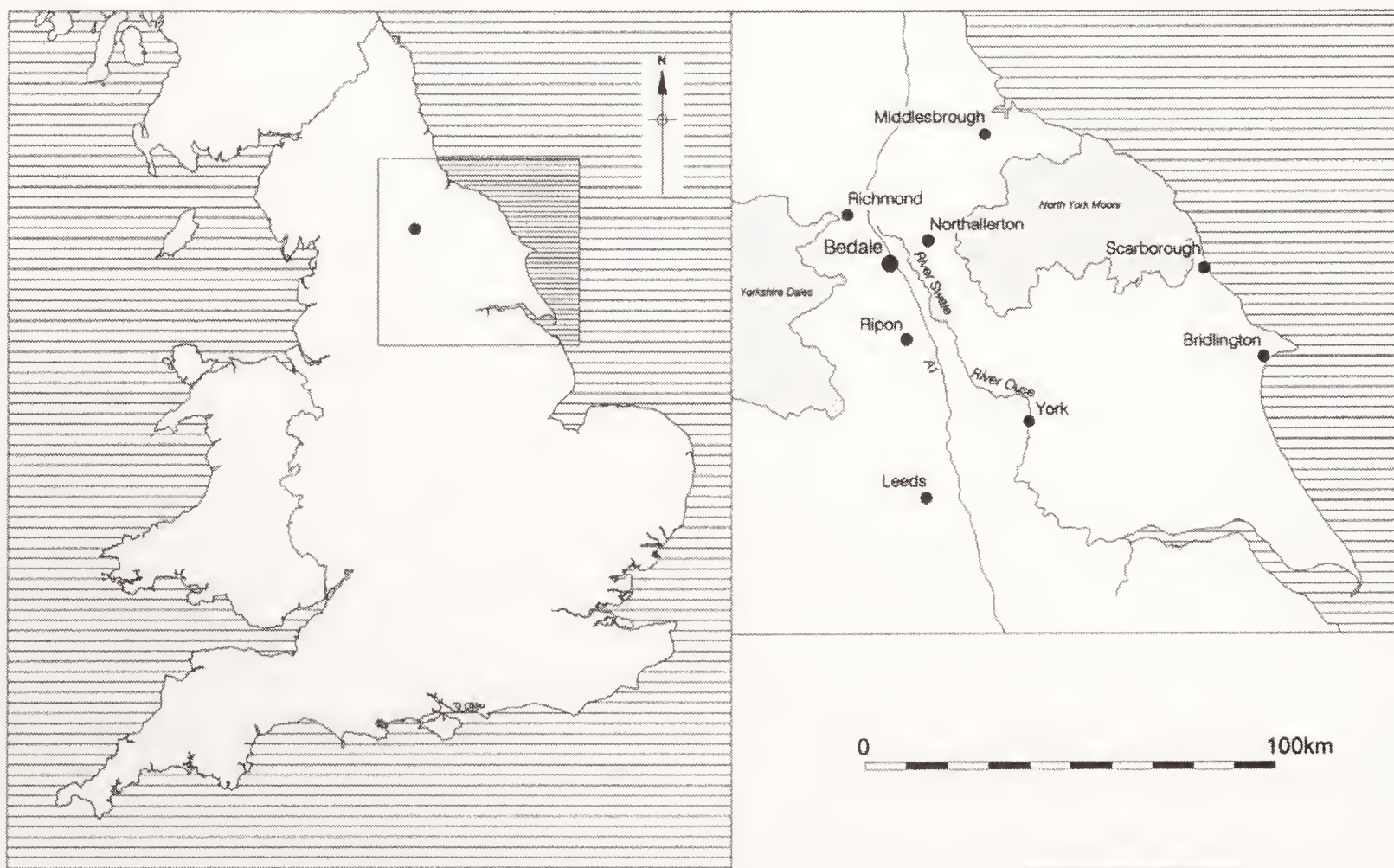


Fig. 1 Site location

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Bedale originated before the Norman Conquest and the town and church are mentioned in the Domesday Book survey, carried out in the area in 1085. Stonework dating to the late 9th and early 10th centuries remains preserved in St. Gregory's Church, which is now mostly a 13th and 14th century building, sited at the north



Fig. 2 Areas of investigation

end of Market Place. The town survived the 'Devastation of the North', 1069-1071, but the valuation of the parish was exceptionally low in the Domesday Book (McCall 1907).

Bedale attained relative prosperity during the medieval period, mainly as a result of the wool trade, and the town was granted a market charter by Henry III in 1251. Relatively little is known of the medieval history of the settlement, except that the FitzAlans acquired the manor soon after the Conquest. Brian FitzAlan, Earl of Arundel, had a castle at Bedale, although a local historian wrote in 1823 that no traces of this remained above ground (Lewis 1975, xii). It is thought to have stood close to the church, in the northern end of the town.

The 'corridor village' style is typical of medieval settlements in the north of England, the form being particularly prevalent in the area between the Tyne and the Tees. A principal characteristic is street frontage buildings joined together to form continuous elevations along either a main street or market place. The land to the rear of the narrow frontage properties was sub-divided into tenements, historically held on burgage tenure, and, as in Bedale, comprising elongated backlots extending away from the dwellings, which in former times contained features such as vegetable gardens, animal pens, outbuildings, yards and middens.

The Market Cross, standing at the junction of the Wynd, Emgate and Market Place, the main medieval streets, is of 14th century date. For the most part, however, the fabric of Bedale is of Georgian or more modern construction. A drawing from 1716 shows a town characterised by low houses of timber-frame construction, but extensive clearance of these buildings in the 18th century allowed construction of the two- and three-storey brick buildings still in evidence today (*ibid.* xi). The town was relatively prosperous during the post-medieval period, supporting small industries of weaving, dyeing, fulling and tanning (*ibid.*).

A map of Bedale dated 1772 (Fig. 3) shows the site encompassing the southwestern portions of two backlots, labelled as plots 21 and 22, owned by a Mrs Heddon and Robert Lodge, respectively. The Tithe Map of 1838 (Fig. 4) shows the southwestern portion of these plots amalgamated and occupied by a gas house, which remained in place well into the 20th century.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL METHODOLOGY

The excavation area comprised an irregular, but roughly rectangular, trench with maximum dimensions 64 m northeast-southwest x 22 m northwest-southeast, covering c. 1,100 square metres, the majority of the footprint of the building in the development (Fig. 2).

Overburden was removed by machine under archaeological supervision across the excavation area and a northeast-southwest aligned sondage was excavated by machine along the southwestern limit of excavation to examine and record the prehistoric wetland deposits. Medieval and post-medieval features were recorded in plan and section within the excavation area, with at least 10% of linear features being hand-excavated.



Fig. 3 Bedale from a map dated 1772

POST- EXCAVATION METHODOLOGY

The pottery assemblages recovered from both phases of investigation comprised a total of 132 sherds weighing 2,344g representing a maximum of 119 vessels. The pottery was examined in two groups (BED 02 and BED 03) and two separate interim reports were produced which formed the basis of a combined report for this publication (Cumberpatch 2002; 2003). The data pertaining to the pottery has been summarised in Table 2. The assemblage was too small to warrant the

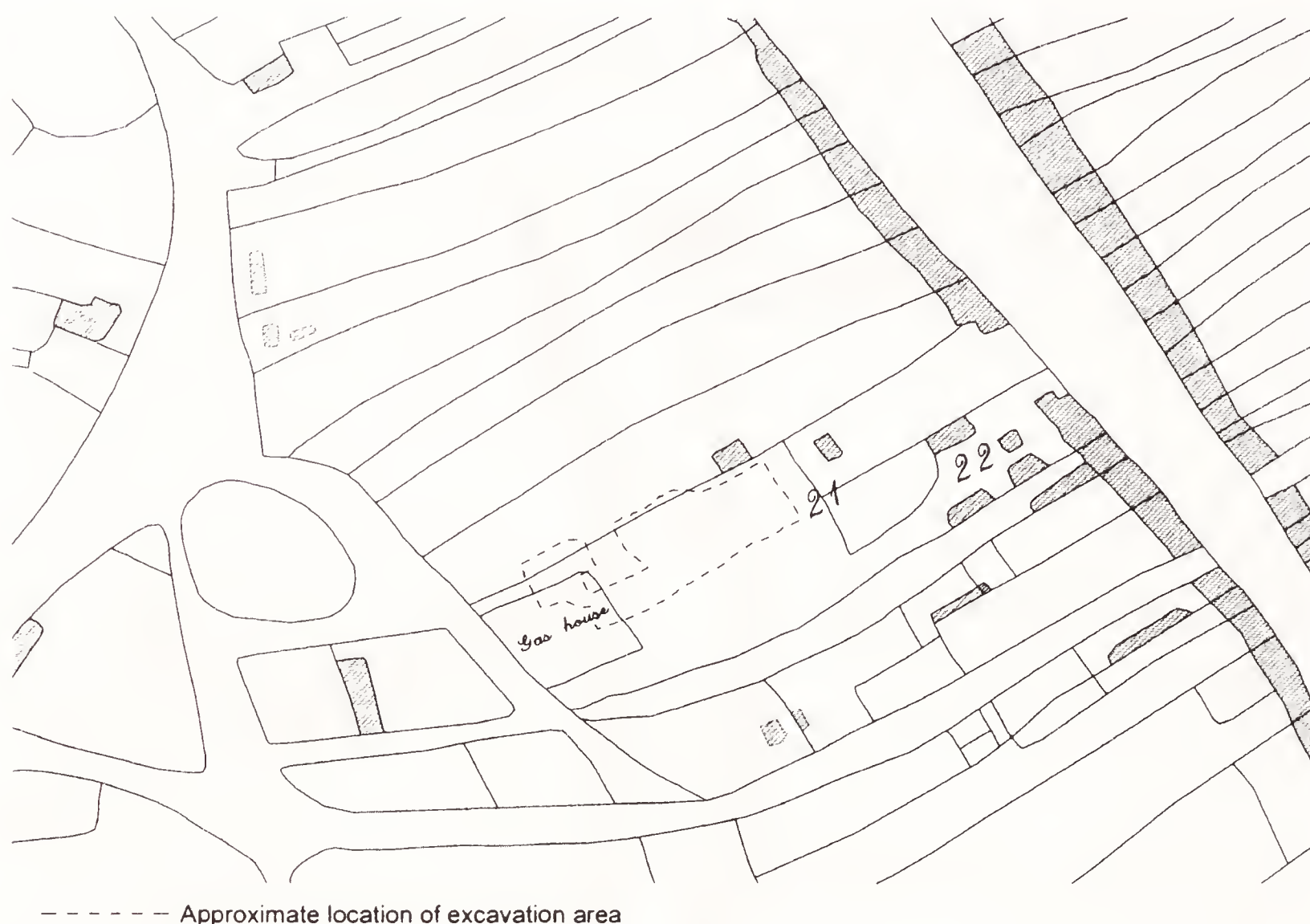


Fig. 4 Bedale from the Tithe map of 1838

construction of a site-specific type series and the majority of the sherds were assigned to previously defined categories. A considerable part of the assemblage consisted of Tees Valley wares, as defined by Wrathmell (1987, 1990) and Patterson (1985) while other wares were of local types and showed a considerable degree of variation within the broader categories of Gritty ware and Sandy ware (Cumberpatch 1997). The fact that a number of distinctive wares could not be ascribed to named types is an indication of the lack of integrated or synthetic work on medieval pottery in North Yorkshire (in spite of the existence of useful reports on individual assemblages) and in particular the lack of a type series for the county or the wider region.

The vertebrate bone assemblage comprised a total of 37 identifiable bone fragments, very few unidentifiable fragments were included in the assemblage and these were not counted or tabulated. The bones were in an excellent state of preservation due to the waterlogged ground conditions. This was a very small assemblage of animal bones and any conclusions drawn regarding economic conditions and husbandry practices are necessarily highly tentative. All identifiable bone fragments were recorded and counted. The separation of sheep and goat was attempted on the radius and distal metacarpal using the criteria described in Boessneck (1969). Equid postcrania were checked against criteria summarised in Baxter (1998). Mandible wear stages were based on Grant (1982). Bone measurements in general followed von den Driesch (1976). Dog withers height and mid-shaft diameter (and its index) were based on Harcourt (1974), horse, cattle and sheep withers heights were

based respectively on Kieseewalter (1888), Matolcsi (1970) and Teichert (1975). Only complete bones were measured.

Two bulk samples recovered from the fills of a boundary ditch of medieval date were selected for further detailed analysis, following on from a phase of post-excavation assessment (PCA 2004). The sediment samples were inspected in the laboratory and their lithologies were recorded using a standard pro forma. Subsamples were taken and processed, broadly following the techniques of Kenward *et al.* (1980; 1986), for the recovery of plant and invertebrate macrofossils. Before processing the subsamples were disaggregated in water and their volumes recorded in a waterlogged state. Plant and invertebrate remains in the processed subsample fractions (residues, washover and flots) were recorded briefly by 'scanning' using a low-power microscope, identifiable taxa and other biological and artefactual components being listed directly to a PC using Paradox software. Notes on the quantity and quality of preservation were made for each fraction. Insects in the flots were recorded using 'assessment recording' *sensu* Kenward (1992), creating a list of the taxa observed during rapid inspection of the flot, with a semi-quantitative estimate of abundance, and a subjective record of the main ecological groups. A record of the preservational condition of the remains was made using scales given by Kenward and Large (1998). Nomenclature for plant taxa follows Stace (1997), insects follow Kloet and Hincks (1964-77) and snails Kerney (1999).

RESULTS OF THE EXCAVATION

Natural sub-stratum

Glacial sand and gravel was exposed at the southwestern end of the excavation area recorded at a maximum height of 40.10 m OD, sloping away gently to the south. In evaluation Trench 5, to the northwest of the excavation area, natural boulder clay was recorded at 41.64 m OD, demonstrating a significant localised rise in the natural ground level, this still visible in the modern day topography. To the east, in evaluation Trench 1, glacial sand and gravel overlain by boulder clay was exposed in the northern portion of the trench at a maximum height of 41.12 m OD.

Prehistoric lake and peat formation

The edge of a substantial feature, interpreted as a lake-bed with a gently sloping profile, truncated natural sand and gravel in the southwestern end of the excavation area. Thick deposits of laminated organic silts within this feature represented water deposited sediments, derived from a shallow body of water, which had infilled naturally and the maximum recorded thickness of this material, recorded in the central part of the excavation area, was 1.20 m. The edge of the lake was also recorded to the northeast of the excavation area, in evaluation Trench 1, indicating that the feature extended across an area measuring at least 75 m northeast-southwest by 25 m northwest-southeast. Peat layers overlay the lake-bed alluvium across the excavation area and were also recorded to the northeast, in evaluation Trench 1. The maximum recorded thickness of the peat formation was c. 1.0 m, in the central part of the excavation area, with the material thinning out towards the lake edges. The

highest level recorded for peat at the site was 40.14 m OD, in evaluation Trench 1, on the northeastern margins of the wetland area. Full details of radiocarbon dating and biological analysis of the lake-bed sediments and peat formation are described within a separate paper (Gearey *et al*, forthcoming), but in broad summary, the lake bed sediment accumulation began in the late Holocene, 8770 ± 40 BP, with pollen analysis indicating a hazel-dominated woodland in the vicinity of the lake at this time. This was succeeded by a wetland area of swampy sedge fen, the vegetative element characteristic of such a landscape being the source of the peat, which commenced 8190 ± 50 BP and by the time of the close of the peat sequence, shortly after 7290 ± 40 BP, there are indications of a drier environment with the growth of pine, hazel and alder in the vicinity.

Medieval burgage plots

The earliest evidence for human activity at the site was represented by a series of ditches, part of a long-lived rectilinear system of boundaries, cut into the peat formation (Fig. 5). Such ditches would have defined the boundaries of the backlots of medieval burgage plots, which remain fossilised in the present day property boundaries in the historic core of the town, as well as sub-dividing the plots.

Ditch 1, recorded towards the northeastern limit of the excavation area, ran northwest-southeast across the excavation area, and was up to 1.80 m wide and 0.93 m deep, with a consistent profile in the excavated portions (Figs. 6 and 7). Various silty deposits infilled the ditch, indicating gradual silting-up rather than deliberate backfilling. Ditch 2 ran parallel to Ditch 1, c. 20 m to the southwest, and was up to 0.90 m wide and 0.73 m deep, and of similar profile (Figs. 8 and 9). Again, organic silts and clays within the feature indicated gradual silting-up. Ditch 2 bifurcated at right angles close to the limit of excavation, with the northeast-southwest aligned element probably representing the boundary between two distinct and long-lived plots within the site, as indicated by 18th-19th century cartographic evidence (Figs. 3 and 4). The northwest-southeast aligned element of Ditch 2, along with Ditch 1, represent sub-divisions within the northernmost of these plots, with the area thus defined (Plot B) being c. 20 m wide (Fig. 10). A single sherd of pottery, dating from the 13th-14th century, was recovered from Ditch 2.

A small assemblage of vertebrate bones was recovered from the ditches. Although cattle bones were slightly more frequent than those of sheep/goat in the medieval ditch deposits (see Table 1), ovicaprid remains were relatively frequent, especially as the assemblage derived from ditches where the remains of larger mammals would generally be expected to be relatively much more common (Wilson 1996). No goat bones could be identified but two out of three ovicaprid bones certainly belong to sheep. They include a complete radius which came from an animal around 53 cm high at the shoulder. Horse remains were relatively frequent, as is to be expected in ditch deposits (Wilson *op. cit.*). They included a third metacarpal from a pony-sized animal of 14 hands recovered from the upper fill of Ditch 1. The radius of a medium sized dog approximately 43 cm high at the shoulder was recovered from the same context. Of particular interest was a partial skeleton of a goose (twelve bones) also found in the upper fill of Ditch 1. Although somewhat larger than a brent goose

Table 1. Bone catalogue

Taxon	Period				Total
	Medieval ditches	Medieval alluvial inundation	Medieval ditch reinstatement		
Cattle (<i>Bos</i> f. domestic)	4	8	1		13
Sheep/Goat (<i>Ovis/Capra</i> f. domestic)	3	1	(-)		4
Sheep (<i>Ovis</i> f. domestic)	(2)	(-)	(-)		(2)
Horse (<i>Equus caballus</i>)	3	1	(-)		4
Dog (<i>Canis familiaris</i>)	1	2	1		4
Goose (<i>Anser/Branta</i> sp.)	1*	(-)	(-)		1
Total	12	14	2		26

Table 1. Number of identified specimens (NISF)

“Sheep/ Goat” also includes the specimens identified to species. Numbers in parentheses are not included in the total of the period.

* twelve bones from a partial skeleton

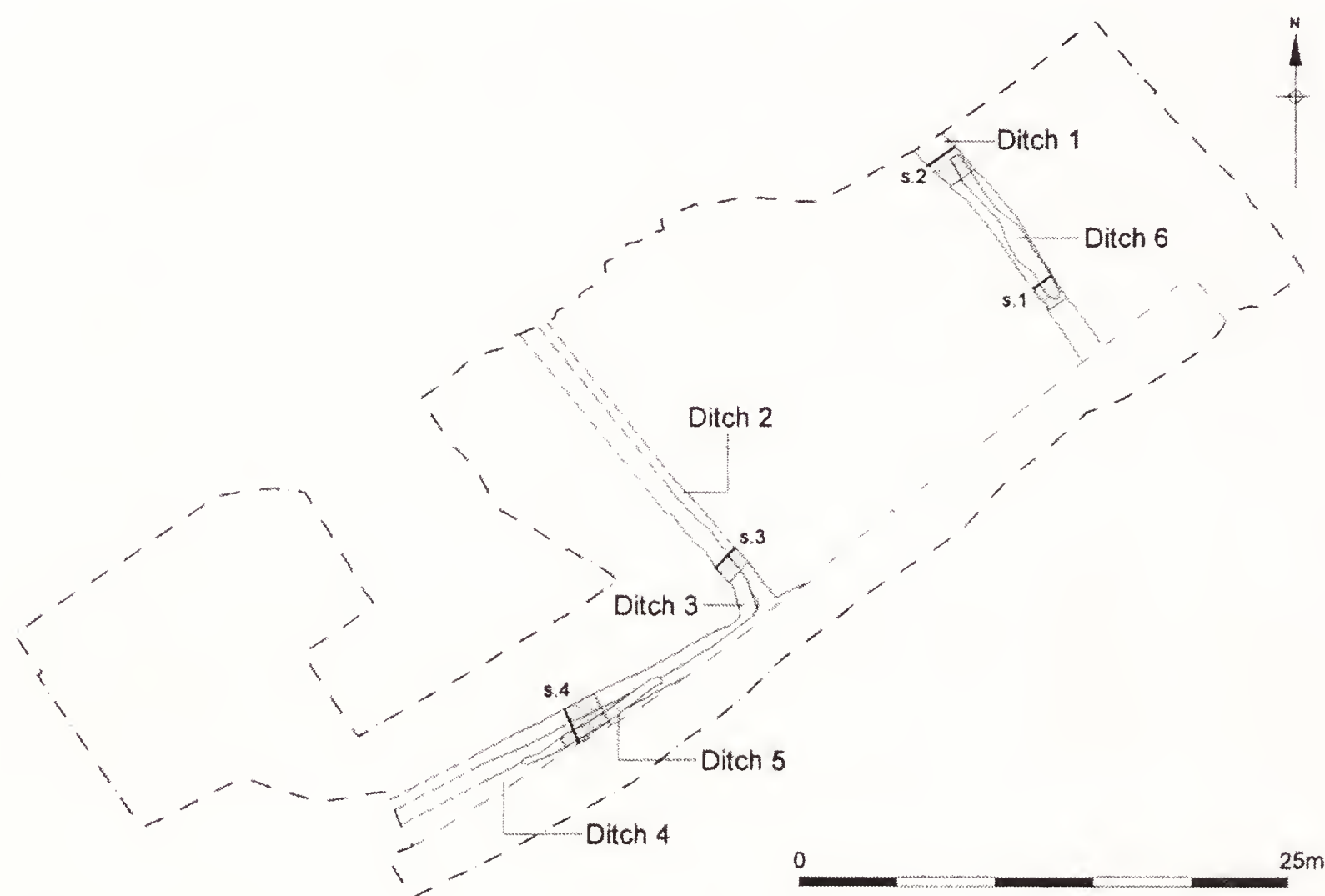


Fig. 5 Medieval ditches

(*Branta bernicla*), this bird was undersized for a domestic goose or a wild greylag (*Anser anser*). It may be a small domestic specimen, but the possibility that it belongs to one of several similarly sized and anatomically difficult to distinguish wild species (bean, pink-footed, white-fronted or barnacle) remains high.

Assessment of bulk samples of two of the fills of medieval Ditch 1 (Samples 5 and 6 in Carrott *et al.* 2004) identified a wide variety of biological remains indicating that the features occupied damp ground and held standing water, although little

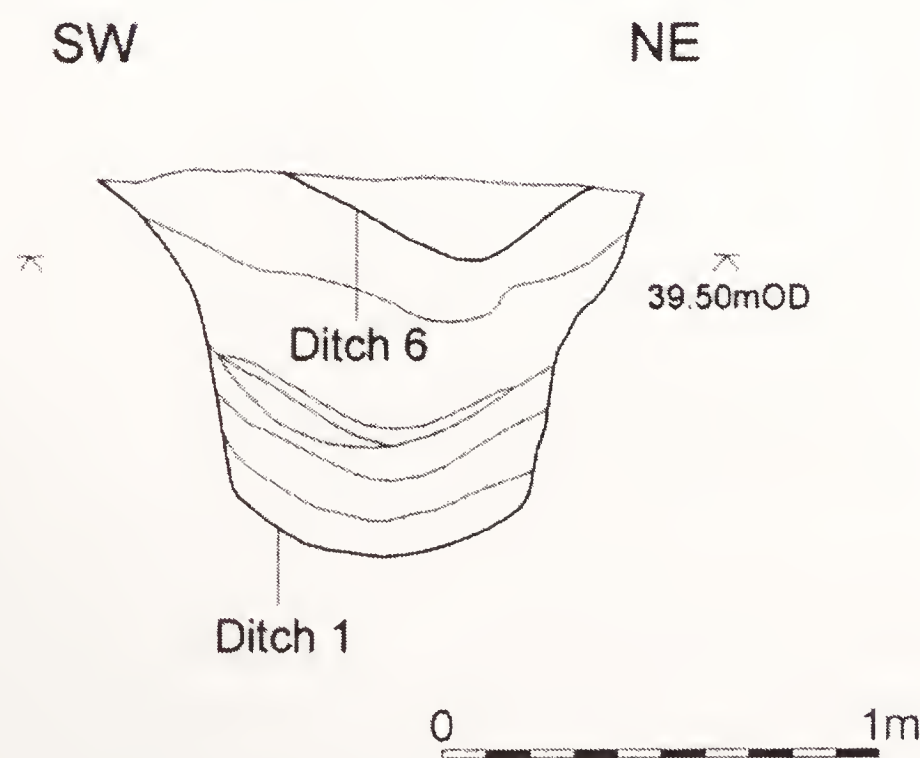


Fig. 6 Section 1 through Ditches 1 and 6

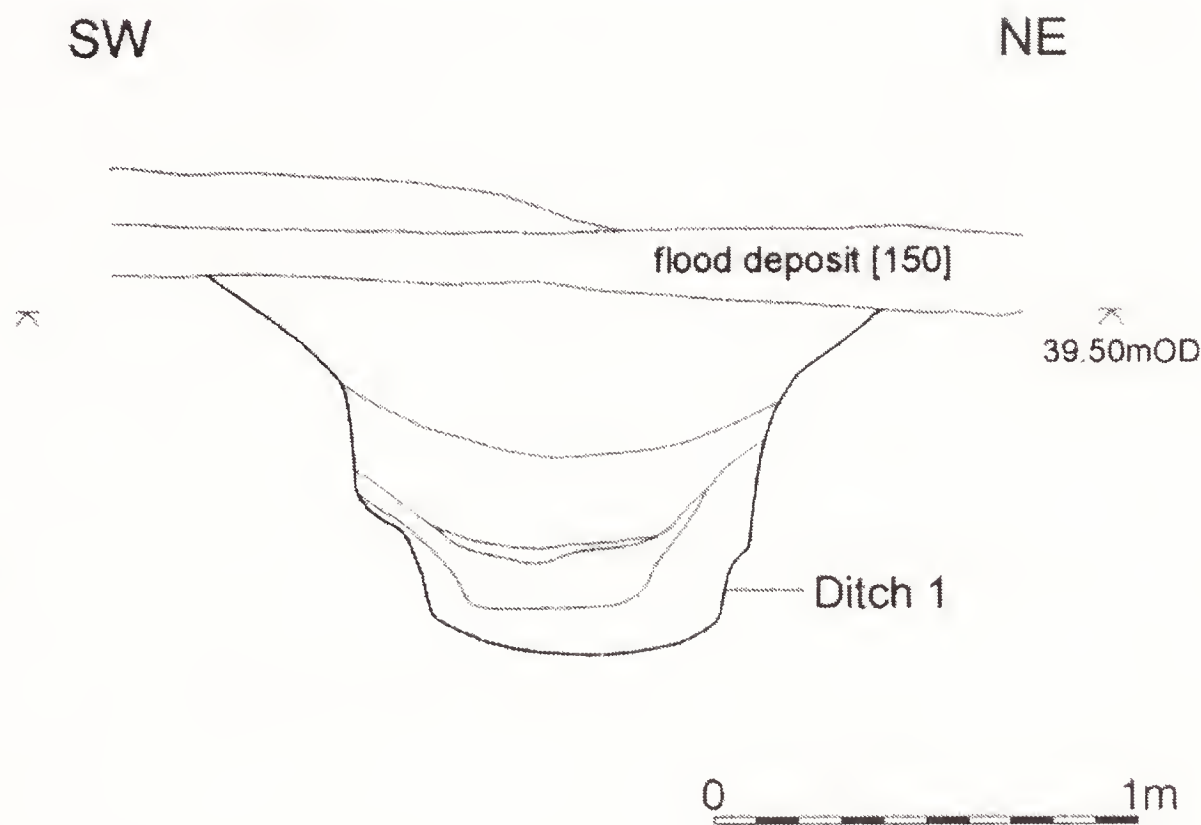


Fig. 7 Section 2 through Ditch 1

evidence of human activity was forthcoming. The bulk of the biological remains in Sample 5 (the upper fill of Ditch 1) consisted of woody and herbaceous plant detritus, but identifiable botanical macrofossils, preserved by anoxic waterlogging, were also present and in very good condition. The assemblage was dominated by crowfoot (*Ranunculus* subgenus *Batrachium*) and celery-leaved buttercup (*Ranunculus sceleratus* L.) typical of the damp conditions associated with wet ditches, and there were some other species of this environment (e.g. fool's-water-cress (*Apium nodiflorum* (L.) Lag.)). Smaller numbers of remains of taxa of waysides and waste places (e.g. dock (*Rumex*) and common nettle (*Urtica dioica* L.)) were also present; these plants often indicate significant human or animal disturbance and, usually, a nitrogen-rich soil. More substantial 'woody' vegetation was represented by records of elder (*Sambucus nigra* L.) and silver/downy birch (*Betula pendula* Roth/*B. pubescens* Ehrh.). The invertebrate remains clearly showed that the ditch held water, perhaps

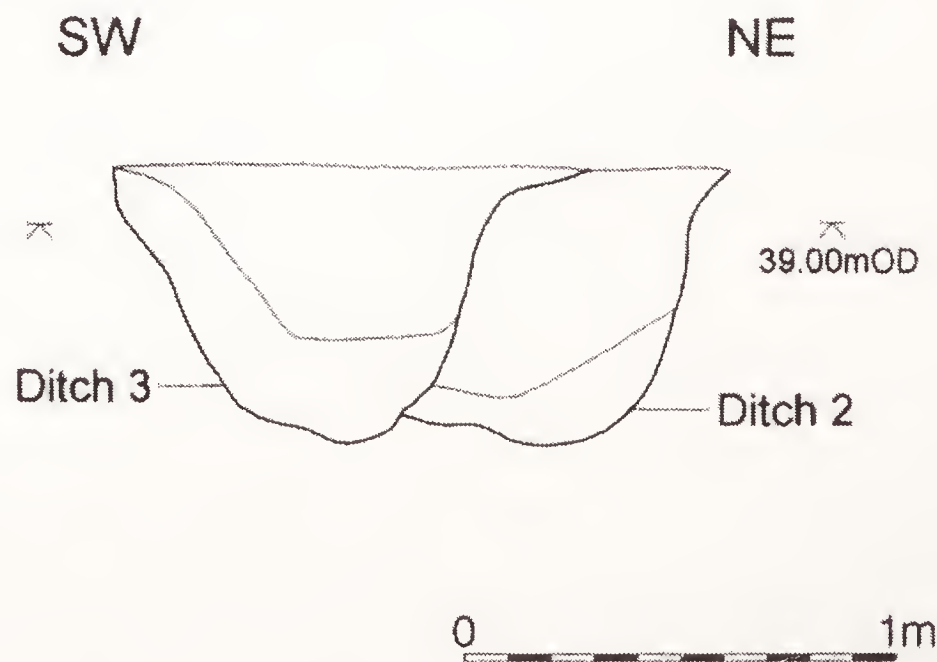


Fig. 8 Section 3 through Ditches 2 and 3

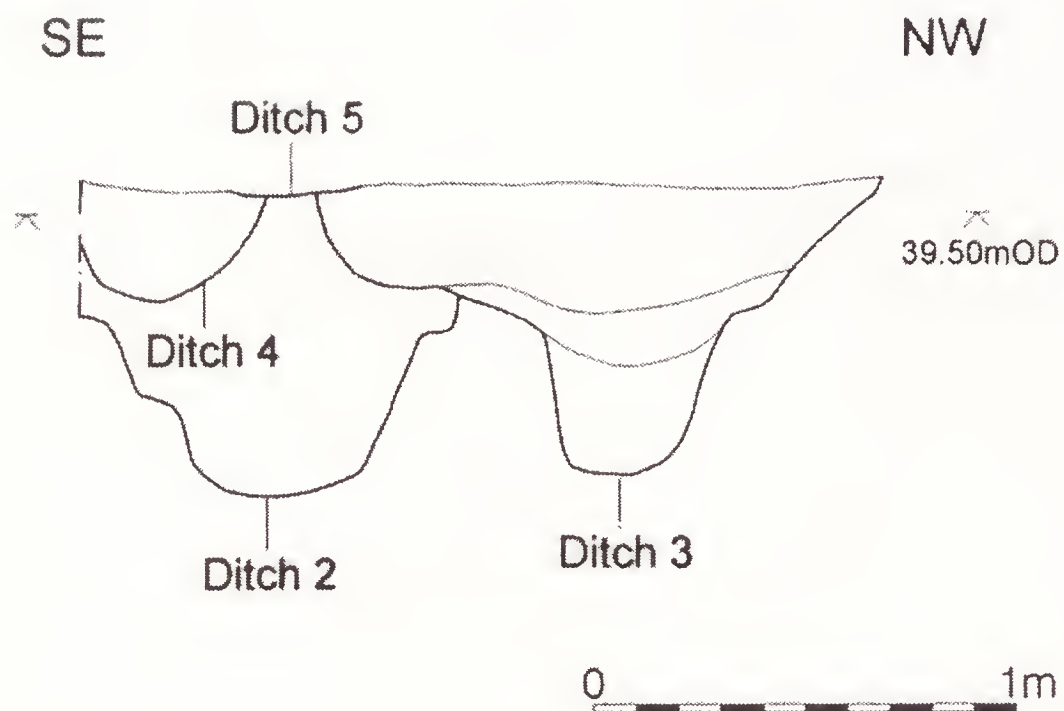


Fig. 9 Section 4 through Ditches 2-5

rather stagnant (as indicated by the aquatic beetle fauna) and subject to drying out (cladoceran ephippia, including *Daphnia*, and *Planorbis planorbis* (L.) snails). There were also hints of animals grazing from dung beetles (*Geotrupes* and *Aphodius* species) and the grassland chafer *Hoplia philanthus* (Fuessly). Dead wood was indicated by *Ptilinus pectinicornis* (Linnaeus) and *Grynobius planus* (Fabricius), both of which can occur in structural as well as natural timber.

The assessment sub-sample from the underlying ditch fill (Sample 6) had given some flax (*Linum usitatissimum* L.) seeds, which suggested the possibility that the feature had been used for flax retting. However, the larger analysis sample recovered only a single additional flax seed. The bulk of the recovered biological remains were, again, mainly waterlogged plant remains including wood (notably small twigs and bark fragments) and tiny plant fibres, with identifiable botanical macrofossils preserved in very good condition; some showed sulphide blackening and pyritisation. The more frequent remains, muskgrass (*Chara*), crowfoot (*Ranunculus* subgenus *Batrachium*) and celery-leaved buttercup (*Ranunculus sceleratus*), once again pointed to damp ground and standing water, with other wetland species, such as compact/soft/hard rush (*Juncus conglomeratus* L./*J. effuses* L./*J. inflexus* L.), sedge (*Carex*), tasteless water-pepper (*Persicaria mitis* ((Schrank) Opiz ex Assenov), present too, but in relatively small numbers. There were also some indicators of disturbed habitats (e.g. rough and waste ground, waysides) in the form of chickweed (*Stellaria media* (L.) Vill.), henbane (*Hyoscyamus niger* L.), nipplewort (*Lapsana communis* L.) and prickly sow-thistle (*Sonchus asper* (L.) Hill), providing hints of possible human or animal activity. Aquatic invertebrates, including abundant ostracods and numerous ephippia (of *Daphnia* and at least one other cladoceran) showed that this ditch also held water. The latter and the snails present (some were the dwarf pond snail, *Lymnaea truncatula* (Müller), but most of the remains were unidentified shell fragments) suggesting that the ditch was subject to drying out. There was also a rather modest range of insects, some of which were additional aquatics, including an Elminthid (suggesting flowing water, probably from an inflow not located at the point of deposition). There were some waterside and terrestrial insects, the latter

indicating herbaceous vegetation and, somewhere in the vicinity, dung.

No other remains that might provide further insight into human activities in the vicinity of these features were recorded (there were no crop plants present, for example) and the full analysis was halted prior to the detailed recording of the invertebrate assemblages. However, the plant remains were recorded in more detail as this data has value in terms of reconstructing the local environment in the medieval period and the results are presented in Table A2 of the appendix to the technical report (Gearey *et al.* 2006).

Medieval alluvial inundation

A layer of soft bluish grey clay, deposit [150], was observed across the northeastern part of the excavation area, and was recorded in section overlying Ditch 1 (Fig. 7). Surviving to a maximum thickness of 0.20 m, the material was almost certainly deposited during an episode of flooding. It produced two sherds of pottery, broadly dateable to the 13th-15th century, and a relatively large assemblage of faunal remains. Cattle bones dominated this assemblage and they included the horncore of an adult mediumhorn cow (Armitage 1982) and a metatarsal from a beast with a withers height of 123 cm. The posterior cranium of a small dog found in this context had been gnawed by rats and a dog ulna came from an animal 43cm at the shoulder.

Medieval plot boundary redefinition

Ditch 2 had been reinstated on a number of occasions; Ditch 3 closely followed the alignment of Ditch 2, also turning at right angles to run to the southwest, but not bifurcating (Fig. 5). The northwest-southeast aligned element was recorded for 8.0 m. The northeast-southwest aligned element, representing the boundary between Plots 21 and 22, was recorded for 16.0 m and was up to 1.50 m wide and 0.80 m deep. A vertical sided slot in the base of this portion of Ditch 3 may have been to facilitate cleaning out (Fig. 9). The composition of its fills indicated that the ditch had silted-up naturally and a single sherd of pottery, broadly dateable to the medieval period, was recovered from the feature, along with two sherds of later material, presumably intrusive. A robust dog femur recovered from the primary fill of Ditch 3 came from a medium sized animal approximately 40 cm high at the shoulder. One fragment of cattle bone was also recovered from this ditch fill.

The subsequent reinstatement, Ditch 4, closely followed the alignment of Ditch 3, but was positioned to the south of the northeast-southwest aligned element. It was traced for 12 m and at only 0.20 m deep it was much less substantial than the earlier versions of the boundary (Fig. 7).

The final recorded ditch reinstatement, Ditch 5, also recut the northeast-southwest element of Ditch 3 but terminated to the northeast and was probably truncated to the southwest as it did not extend beyond a modern truncation (Fig. 5). This was also much less substantial than the earlier ditches, being only 7.70m long by 0.56m wide and 0.25m deep. A similar feature, Ditch 6, truncated the upper portion of Ditch 1 (Figs. 5 and 6). Extending 6.0m in length with a rounded terminal at each end, it was 0.35m wide and 0.12m deep. The irregular, slight form of Ditches 5 and 6 suggest that they represent subsidiary boundary features such as fencelines rather than actual boundary ditches.

Medieval developed soil

In the central portion of evaluation Trench 1, the peat formation was overlain by a silty developed soil, deposit [11]. Only exposed in plan and not excavated during the evaluation phase of work, this deposit nevertheless produced, during cleaning, a relatively large assemblage of medieval pottery. This comprised fifteen sherds of Tees Valley ware B type of 13th-early 15th century date, a sherd of Tees Valley ware A type of similar date range and a sherd of Splash Glazed sandy ware of 12th to early 13th century date. The abraded condition of the material was consistent with the interpretation of the layer as a developed and worked soil, broadly indicating that the backlot area was given over to cultivation for some considerable time during the medieval period.

Medieval structure

The southwestern corner of a probable structure, Structure 1, was recorded at the southern end of evaluation Trench 1, cutting through the developed soil (Figs. 10 and 11). Orientated north-northwest-south-southeast, with a right-angled return in the south, it was up to 1.40 m wide and 0.52 m deep. With a concave, uneven base and mostly filled with medium and large cobbles in a sandy silt matrix, it is likely to have been the footing for a cobble or masonry dwarf wall, built to support a timber baseplate beam. Pottery sherds dating from the 13th-15th century were recovered from the silty primary fill of the construction cut. The assemblage was dominated by Tees Valley wares, with a sherd of Reduced Sandy Ware, dating from the 14th-15th century, also present. A silty occupation deposit [48], up to 0.17 m thick, was recorded internal to Structure 1. Rim sherds from the same Tees Valley ware cooking pot were recovered from this deposit and the wall construction trench, demonstrating that they were contemporary. The precise form and extent of Structure 1 is uncertain, but since it was located within Plot C, more than 60 m behind the street frontage (Fig. 10), it may have been an outbuilding. These structural remains were cleaned and planned during the evaluation and a small section was excavated through the wall to determine its form and date; further investigation was not undertaken during the excavation phase as the remains were to be preserved *in situ*.

Late medieval yard surface

A probable yard surface [24], formed by a gritty sand, up to 0.15 m thick, with sub-angular to sub-rounded cobbles throughout, was recorded in evaluation Trench 2 overlying the peat deposit (Fig. 10). Like Structure 1, this lay within Plot C and produced a sherd of pottery dated to the 15th-16th century along with earlier medieval material.

Late medieval and post-medieval remains

Developed soils up to 0.50 m thick and of late medieval and post-medieval date underlay modern surfaces in evaluation Trench 1. A medieval developed soil, deposit [7], produced a few sherds of Tees Valley ware B type along with a single sherd of Sandy ware. The form and thickness of the deposits suggests that portions of the backlots immediately to the rear of the frontage properties were utilised for

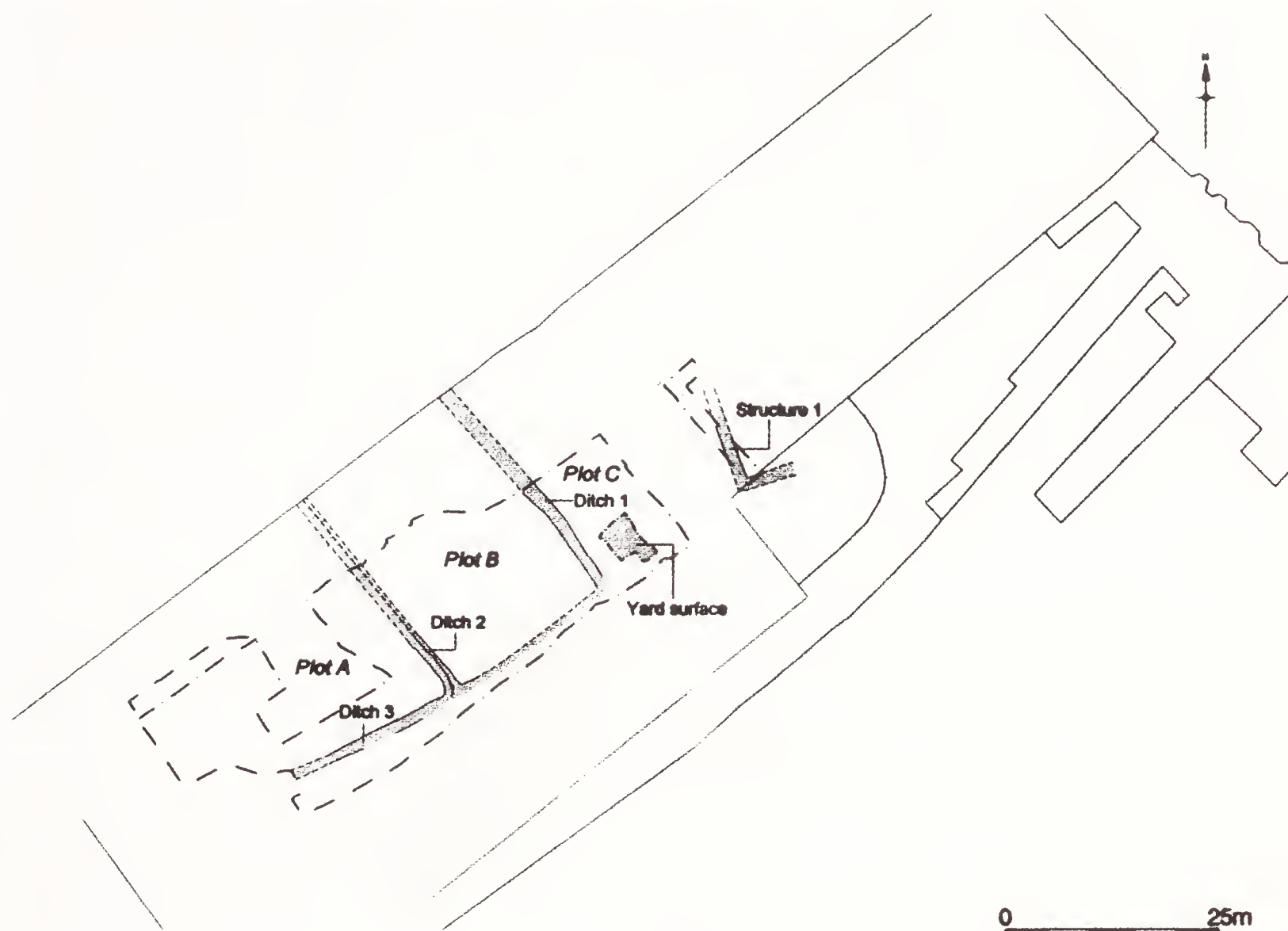


Fig. 10 Interpretative plan of medieval features

cultivation for some time, probably well into the late post-medieval period.

In evaluation Trenches 2, 3 and 4, the peat formations were overlain by post-medieval dump deposits up to 0.35m thick. These layers represent ground raising and consolidation of the lower-lying area occupied by the prehistoric pond, prior to the construction of post-medieval buildings. In Trench 5, the natural sub-stratum was truncated by a narrow linear feature running parallel with the boundary of the site, likely to represent a drainage gully, which produced a sherd of medieval pottery along with a sherd of 18th century date.

Various structural remains of post-medieval date, some of which can be related to buildings shown on 19th-20th century mapping, were recorded in the excavation area. Residual medieval pottery was recovered from two of these structures, Structures 2 and 3. At the time of the evaluation phase of work, various standing buildings of stone construction and of probable early 19th century date were present on the site.

CERAMIC ASSEMBLAGE DISCUSSION

Tees Valley wares

Examples of all three types of Tees Valley ware (A, B and C) were identified within the assemblage with the earlier type A present in only small quantities and invariably

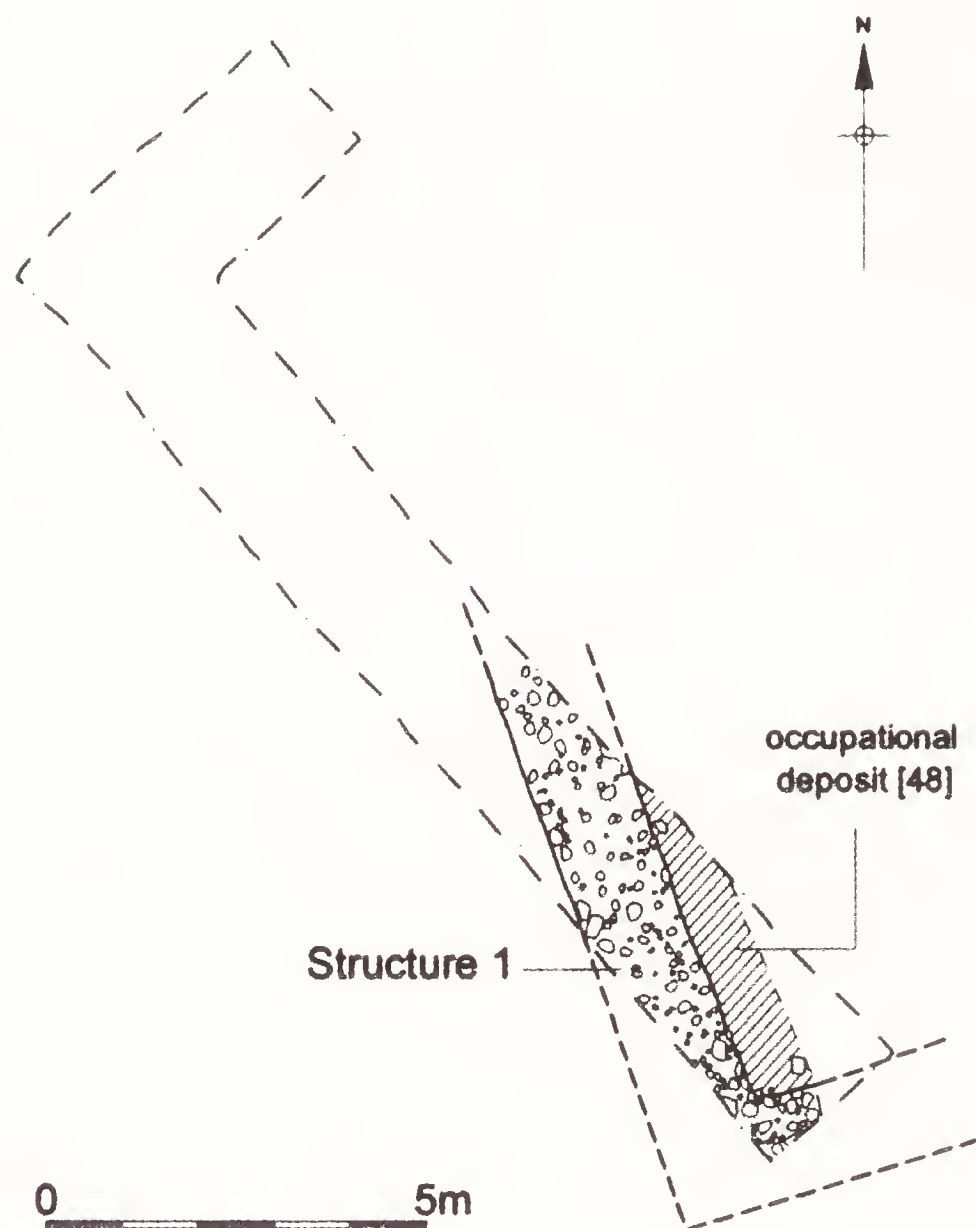


Fig. 11 Evaluation Trench 1, Medieval Structure 1

accompanied by the later B and C types. Tees Valley ware A ware has been described by Wrathmell as a hard, wheel-thrown gritty ware which, when fired, has a uniform buff to white colour (1990, 379). He ascribes the common tendency for sherds from a single site to exhibit a degree of variation in the density and types of inclusion to the existence of a number of manufacturing centres. Such an explanation is entirely credible and a similar situation appears to exist throughout much of North and West Yorkshire, particularly with respect to Gritty wares. It seems probable that potters were seeking to produce pots with similar physical characteristics using clays that were available locally. Some possible reasons for this have been discussed elsewhere (Cumberpatch 1997).

Wrathmell has defined Tees Valley ware B as hard and gritty in texture and fired to a uniform red colour (1990, 379). The principal points of his definition conform closely to the characteristics of a considerable part of the Bedale assemblage, although the texture of the wares might be better described as 'coarse sandy' as the quartz inclusions are rarely over 1mm in size, with the normal size range being between 0.5mm and 0.8mm. The type seems to be close to that defined as Tees Valley ware 1 by Patterson (1985) and the thin walled character of the vessels is particularly marked. Tees Valley ware C is pinker in colour than type B and is somewhat finer and softer in texture (Wrathmell 1990, 379-380). It is also, on the evidence from

Hartlepool, somewhat later in date. These distinctions, particularly those based on colour, seem less clear cut amongst the Bedale assemblage than is implied in the description provided by Wrathmell, and, as in the case of type A, the possibility that similar types were being manufactured by potters working independently must be considered as an explanation for this variability. This may have implications for the dating of the material, but, in the absence of other evidence, the date ranges derived from the Hartlepool assemblages have been retained in this report.

A group of sherds from the primary fill of the construction trench of Structure 1 bore a close general resemblance to Tees Valley wares in terms of their overall appearance and composition but were sufficiently different to the types defined above to prevent them being assigned to the categories defined by Wrathmell. They have been termed Tees Valley type wares.

Other types

A considerable variety of medieval wares were identified in the assemblage. Few of these can be related to established 'named wares' and their salient characteristics have been noted in Table 2 and should be read alongside the following discussion.

A variety of Sandy wares were identified amongst the assemblage with the principal distinctions between them being in the density of the quartz inclusions, the presence or absence of mica and the colour, the latter relating to the firing atmosphere. Both oxidised and reduced variants were noted, but whether the distinctions are due to chronological factors or the source of the material is unclear. This is particularly true of the Oxidised and Buff Sandy wares where the varying colours appear to reflect similar distinctions to those noted in the case of the Tees Valley wares. They may be presumed to relate to variations in the composition of the clay (particularly the iron content) and in the firing atmosphere.

One large sherd of Splash Glazed Sandy ware was recovered from a medieval developed soil [11], and a possible second from a later deposit, [94], associated with a post-medieval structure. These sherds were probably amongst the earliest from the site although some of the Gritty ware sherds showed typological characteristics which suggested an early (later 11th to 13th century) date. The association of the splash glazed sherds with later material implies that the sherds are residual in character.

In general terms, Reduced Sandy wares appeared to be part of a later medieval tradition in North Yorkshire and the North East region generally. While the examples from Bedale could not be linked directly with the types defined elsewhere (e.g. Wrathmell 1987, 1990, Cumberpatch 2001), they are part of the same tradition and have been ascribed a date accordingly. As with the oxidised wares, the minor variations in fabric are presumably related to different raw material sources and places of manufacture.

The Gritty wares generally appeared to be of an earlier medieval type, but in those cases where they occurred alongside more closely datable sherds, the proposed date ranges generally overlapped, so it is unnecessary to suggest that one element is residual. Gritty wares are generally distinguished by their coarsely tempered bodies (although there is some overlap with Coarse Sandy wares) but the typical wide-bodied

Table 2. Pottery catalogue

Context	Feature	Type	No.	Wt.	ENV	Part	Form	Decoration	Date range	Notes
1 BED 03	Ditch 3	Brown Salt Glazed Stoneware	1	104	1	Neck/rim	Bottle	Undecorated	C19th	Wide mouthed stoneware bottle
1 BED 03	Ditch 3	Coarse Sandy ware	1	9	1	BS	U/ID	Patchy glaze externally	Medieval	
1 BED 03	Ditch 3	Slipware	1	61	1	Base	Open vessel	Press-moulded dish with trailed white slip decoration internally	LC17th - C18th	
2 BED 02	Ditch 7	Manganese Mottled ware	1	2	1	BS	U/ID	Mottled glaze internally and externally	C18th	
2 BED 02	Ditch 7	Oxidised Sandy ware type	1	11	1	Base	U/ID	Undecorated	Medieval	Sooted externally
7 BED 02	Developed soil	Sandy ware	1	14	1	Rim	Jug	Undecorated	Medieval	Hard, dense fabric with occasional large (2mm) rounded non-crystalline inclusions
7 BED 02	Developed soil	Tees Valley B type	2	14	2	BS	U/ID	Undecorated	C13th - EC15th	One sherd somewhat coarser than the other
7 BED 02	Developed soil	Tees Valley ware B type	1	1	1	BS	U/ID	Shiny clear glaze with green mottling	C13th - EC15th	
7 BED 02	Developed soil	Tees Valley ware B type	1	13	1	Rim	Jug	Shiny clear glaze with green streaks	C13th - EC15th	Buff slip under glaze; pulled spout
8 BED 02	Structure 1	Tees Valley ware B type	2	261	1	Rim/handle	Jug	Patchy clear glaze on top of handle and shiny clear glaze with green mottling externally	C13th - EC15th	Large rod handled jug with a very thin walled body
11 BED 02	Developed soil	Splash Glazed Sandy ware	1	141	1	Base	U/ID	Pinched feet and patchy pitted splash glaze	C12th - EC13th	Unidentified sandy ware, probably local, buff surfaces and a grey core
11 BED 02	Developed soil	Tees Valley A ware type	1	13	1	BS	U/ID	Undecorated	C13th - EC15th	
11 BED 02	Developed soil	Tees Valley ware B type	15	140	15	BS	U/ID	Clear glaze internally, patchy and where thick, streaky and green in colour	C13th - EC15th	
11 BED 02	Developed soil	Tees Valley ware B type	1	6	1	BS	U/ID	Patchy pale green glaze externally	C13th - EC15th	Patchy pale green glaze externally
14 BED 02	Modern service	Coarse Sandy ware	3	7	3	BS	U/ID	Undecorated	Medieval	
14 BED 02	Modern service	Pearlware	1	10	1	Rim	Plate	Relief moulded flower motif and wavy edge	c.1780 - c.1840	
14 BED 02	Modern service	Whiteware	1	2	1	BS/flake	U/ID	Undecorated	M - LC19th	

Context	Feature	Type	No.	Wt.	ENV	Part	Form	Decoration	Date range	Notes
16BED 03	Ditch 2	Buff Sandy ware	1	19	1	BS	U/ID	Undecorated	C13th - C14th	Heavily tempered sandy ware with abundant fine quartz and occasional non-crystalline grit
24 BED 02	Yard surface	Later Medieval Green Glazed Sandy ware	1	4	1	BS	Open vessel	Green glaze internally	LC15th - C16th	Green glaze internally and patchy green glaze externally
24 BED 02	Yard surface	Tees Valley type ware	1	15	1	BS	U/ID	Green glaze externally	C13th - EC15th	
32 BED 02	Structure 1	Buff Sandy ware	1	7	1	BS	U/ID	Undecorated	Medieval	A buff sandy ware with brown glaze internally, knife trimmed externally; probably local
32 BED 02	Structure 1	Reduced Sandy ware	2	8	2	BS	U/ID	Dark green glaze externally	C14th - C15th	
32 BED 02	Structure 1	Tees Valley B type	3	40	3	BS	U/ID	Pale green glaze with small applied pellets and dark green streaks externally on a buff slip coating	C13th - EC15th	A slightly gritty orange fabric containing moderate to abundant quartz grit and occasional non-crystalline rock fragments
32 BED 02	Structure 1	Tees Valley B type ware	1	31	1	Rim	Jug	Buff/white slip externally with patchy clear glaze	C13th - EC15th	Distinctive inturned rim and pointed cap
32 BED 02	Structure 1	Tees Valley C type	1	50	1	Rim/handle	Handled jar	Undecorated	C14th - EC15th	A buff sandy fabric but in a form closely resembling that illustrated by Wrathmell 1990: Fig 30;18, Fig 33; 33
32 BED 02	Structure 1	Tees Valley type A	1	7	1	Rim	Jug	Undecorated	C12th - C13th	Square sectioned rim with flat top
32 BED 02	Structure 1	Tees Valley type ware	2	52	2	Rim	Jug	Undecorated	C13th - EC15th	Buff sandy Tees Valley type fabric with a rectangular sectioned collar and thick mottled green glaze
32 BED 02	Structure 1	Tees Valley type ware	5	69	5	BS	U/ID	One sherd with patchy green glaze externally, four unglazed	C13th - EC15th	Thin walled vessel with possible buff slip externally over buff fabric with occasional non-crystalline rock fragments
32 BED 02	Structure 1	Tees Valley type ware	1	19	1	BS	U/ID	Mottled green glaze externally	C13th - EC15th	Buff Tees Valley ware fabric with somewhat thicker walls than normal

Context	Feature	Type	No.	Wt.	ENV	Part	Form	Decoration	Date range	Notes
32 BED 02	Structure 1	Tees Valley type ware	3	84	3	BS	U/ID	One sherd with a spot of clear glaze externally	C13th - EC15th	Buff finish externally resembling TV type A, but closer to type B in cross section and internally
32 BED 02	Structure 1	Tees Valley type ware	2	64	2	Base	Jar/Cooking pot	Undecorated	C13th - EC15th	Sooted and burnt on underside and lower walls
32 BED 02	Structure 1	Tees Valley type ware	1	10	1	Rim	Jar/Cooking pot	Pale green glaze externally	C13th - C14th	Sharply everted rim
32 BED 02	Structure 1	Tees Valley type ware	1	9	1	BS	U/ID	Undecorated	C13th - C14th	Coarse textured type, heavily sooted externally
32 BED 02	Structure 1	Tees Valley ware A type	1	24	1	Base	U/ID	Undecorated	C12th - C13th	A coarse, gritty version of the Tees valley ware fabric
32 BED 02	Structure 1	Tees Valley ware B	4	79	3	Base/wall	Jug/jar	Pinched feet	LC13th - EC14th	Patchy green glaze externally
32 BED 02	Structure 1	Tees Valley ware B type	4	123	3	BS	U/ID	Undecorated	LC13th - C14th	Pitted internally and externally
32 BED 02	Structure 1	Tees Valley ware B type	6	47	6	BS	U/ID	Mottled clear glaze externally	C13th -EC15th	Thin walled vessels, two sherds with prominent rilled profile
32 BED 02	Structure 1	Tees Valley ware B type	3	20	2	BS	U/ID	Undecorated	C13th - EC15th	
48 BED 02	Structure 1	Gritty ware	2	27	1	BS	U/ID	Undecorated	C12th - C14th	Gritty ware with reduced grey core, dull orange surfaces internally and externally, sooted externally
48 BED 02	Structure 1	Gritty ware	1	7	1	Base	U/ID	Undecorated	Medieval	Sooted underside
48 BED 02	Structure 1	Tees Valley type ware	1	28	1	Base	Jar/Cooking pot	Undecorated	C13th - EC15th	Burnt underside with thick soot externally
48 BED 02	Structure 1	Tees Valley ware A	1	20	1	Rim	Jar/Cooking pot	Undecorated	C13th - C14th	Typical Tees Valley ware bifid rim
48 BED 02	Structure 1	Tees Valley ware A	1	11	1	BS	U/ID	Undecorated	C13th - C15th	
48 BED 02	Structure 1	Tees Valley ware A	1	9	1	Base	U/ID	Undecorated	C13th - EC15th	
48 BED 02	Structure 1	Tees Valley ware B	2	11	2	BS	U/ID	Applied green pellets under clear glaze	C13th - EC15th	
48 BED 02	Structure 1	Tees Valley ware B type	3	24	3	BS	U/ID	Undecorated	C13th - EC15th	One sherd with spots of glaze externally
32/48	Structure 1	Tees Valley ware B type	2	33	1	Rim	Jar/Cooking pot	Thin coat of buff slip externally giving a smooth buff finish	C13th - EC15th	Distinctive 'funnel' neck, cf. Wrathmell 1990: Fig 31; 21

Context	Feature	Type	No.	Wt.	ENV	Part	Form	Decoration	Date range	Notes
59 BED 03	Structure 3	Gritty ware	1	5	1	BS	U/ID	Undecorated	C12th - C14th	cf. Gritty ware sherds from context 48
59 BED 03	Structure 3	Late Medieval Sandy ware	1	6	1	BS	U/ID	Traces of incised decoration externally with bright green glaze internally and externally	C15th - C16th	Oxidised sandy ware
77 BED 03	Structure 3	Transfer printed Whiteware	1	1	1	BS	U/ID	Small part of diffuse 'Flow Blue' design	c.1835 or later	
77 BED 03	Structure 3	Whiteware	2	26	1	Rim	Mug	Hand painted enamel colours; floral motifs	C20th	
77 BED 03	Structure 3	Whiteware	2	9	1	Rim	Jar	Undecorated	MC19th - EC20th	Folded rim, plain whiteware
77 BED 03	Structure 3	Whiteware	1	3	1	BS	U/ID	Undecorated	MC19th - EC20th	Plain whiteware
94 BED 03	Structure 2	?Splash Glazed Sandy ware	3	19	1	BS	U/ID	Pitted green glaze externally	MC11th - EC13th	Discoloured and burnt sherd with black deposit internally and on broken edges
94 BED 03	Structure 2	Buff Sandy ware	2	12	2	BS	U/ID	Undecorated	Medieval	Fine, even buff sandy ware, unglazed, probably local
94 BED 03	Structure 2	Rhenish stoneware	1	8	1	?Handle/?Rim	Bottle	Undecorated	C15th - C16th	Possibly Frechen-Köln type
94 BED 03	Structure 2	Gritty ware	1	10	1	Rim	Jar	Undecorated	MC11th - C13th	Typical medieval gritty ware jar with pointed rim; abundant quartz and non-crystalline grit
94 BED 03	Structure 2	Gritty ware	1	7	1	BS	U/ID	Undecorated	MC11th - C13th	As the rim from this context; an abraded body sherd
94 BED 03	Structure 2	Late Medieval Sandy ware type	1	12	1	Rim	Dish	Bright green glaze on a thin layer of white slip	C15th - C16th	An oxidised sandy ware; possibly European
94 BED 03	Structure 2	Late Medieval Sandy ware	1	5	1	BS	Hollow ware	Undecorated	C15th - C16th	Resembles the dish rim from the same context but from a different vessel
94 BED 03	Structure 2	Oxidised Sandy ware	6	23	3	Rim & BS	Jug	Undecorated	C13th - C15th	Patchy-green glaze on an oxidised sandy ware with a thin pale grey layer under glaze
104 BED 03	Structure 2	Oxidised Sandy ware	1	2	1	BS	U/ID	Undecorated	C13th - C14th	Quartz tempered buff sandy ware

Context	Feature	Type	No.	Wt.	ENV	Part	Form	Decoration	Date range	Notes
104 BED 03	Structure 2	Reduced Sandy ware	1	13	1	BS	U/D	Incised lines externally	LC13th - C15th	Typical local reduced quartz tempered sandy ware
150 BED 03	Flooding	Later Medieval Sandy ware	1	6	1	BS	U/D	Odd black metallic glaze externally; probably discoloured	C13th - C15th	A fine oxidised sandy ware
150 BED 03	Flooding	Reduced Sandy ware	1	7	1	BS	U/D	Undecorated	LC13th - C15th	Typical local micaceous reduced sandy ware
U/S		Stoneware	1	32	1	BS	Bottle	Stamped 'BEDALE'	C19th - C20th	Bottle, stamped with name of local wholesaler or retailer
U/S		Tees Valley ware A type	1	7	1	BS	U/D	Undecorated	C13th - EC15th	
U/S		Tees Valley ware B type	3	113	3	BS	U/D	Undecorated	C13th - EC15th	Buff surface externally, orange in cross section and internally
U/S		Tees Valley ware B type	1	33	1	BS	U/D	Undecorated	C13th - EC15th	Orange throughout
U/S		Tees Valley ware B type	1	48	1	BS/Handle stump	Jug	Undecorated	C13th - EC15th	Orange throughout
U/S		Tees Valley ware B type	2	173	2	Base	U/D	Clear glaze internally	C13th - EC15th	Burnt and slightly sooted externally
U/S		Tees Valley ware B type	1	4	1	Rim	Jug	Undecorated	C13th - EC15th	
		Total	132	2344	119					

jar with a square or diamond shaped rim is an important regional type and the commonly seen sooting on such vessels (e.g. occupation layer [48], Structure 1) suggests that cooking was amongst their principal functions.

Later medieval and post-medieval wares

Late medieval and early post-medieval pottery was present in only small quantities and was limited to Late Medieval Sandy ware and Late Medieval Green Glazed Sandy ware (yard surface [24]). The absence of common types such as Cistercian ware was notable and cannot be easily explained.

European wares

Only one sherd of pottery was identified as of definite European origin. This was part of a handle or rim from a Rhenish stoneware bottle or jug dating to the 15th or 16th century. A second sherd, the rim of a white-slipped dish, from the same context may be of European origin although this is less certain than is the case with the stoneware sherd.

Early modern and recent pottery

A small quantity of 18th and 19th century pottery was present amongst the assemblage. With the exception of part of a stoneware bottle bearing part of the name of a local retailer or wholesaler, the wares were unmarked. Utilitarian vernacular kitchenwares were absent, an unusual occurrence on sites with evidence for activity of this date, and the principal type represented were vernacular tablewares (Slipware and Mottled ware) and formal tablewares (Pearlware, transfer printed and plain Whiteware), although it is possible that some of the sherds of Whiteware were from kitchen wares.

Conclusions

Although small in size, the pottery assemblage from Bedale is of interest in that it draws attention to the regionally important pottery industry of the Tees Valley which has received relatively little attention in comparison with better known industries from East and South Yorkshire. There is clearly a need for a programme of physical and chemical analysis that will resolve the issues surrounding the location and organisation of manufacture. At present the locations of manufacture are unknown and it might be suggested that the investigation of this issue is one that should feature in any regional research initiative relating to medieval craft production.

GENERAL DISCUSSION

While documentary evidence indicates that Bedale originated before the Norman Conquest, no archaeological evidence for occupation prior to the 13th century was recorded at the site. This suggests that the settlement nucleus lay to the north of the site, in the area of the church.

The medieval boundary ditches in the excavation area are indicative of a system of burgage plots in place by at least the 13th-14th century. Burgage tenure evolved in English towns in the Saxon period and was associated with places that had the status of boroughs with fixed annual rents paid to the overlord of the borough (Lloyd 1992, 38). In Durham, fences were constructed in the late 11th century to the rear of

late Saxon properties, delimiting the backlot area which had previously been common land utilised for rubbish disposal (Carver 1979, 71). Broad studies of medieval English towns have shown that by the 11th and 12th centuries, property boundaries gradually became solidified, both along the street and to the rear (Schofield and Vince 1994, 69). The long, narrow parcels of land with a frontage to a street or market place, like those fossilised in the existing layout of Bedale, are characteristic of burgage plots of the period and the format is evident in the other market towns of the region, such as Ripon and Richmond. Excavations in Northallerton (PCA 2005) have revealed a similar layout of backlot boundary ditches of medieval date to that seen at Bedale, where parts of two linear plots, with internal sub-divisions, were revealed, each plot being up to 30 m wide.

The evidence from Bedale indicates that the plot boundaries silted-up, necessitating repeated reinstatement. The ditches here certainly held water, this a direct result of the relatively low-lying situation of the site and the nature of the underlying strata. A typical finding in English towns is for plot boundaries, delineated initially by ditches and then by fences and later walls, to vary very little in position and that, even after long periods of abandonment, boundaries are reinstated close to their original line; a boundary first set out in the 10th century can survive into the modern era (Carver 1987, 70). At Bedale, even sub-plot boundaries had been reinstated on several occasions.

Backlot areas would have been utilised for a variety of purposes in the medieval period. Vegetable plots, herb gardens and animal pens would have been set out and specific areas would have been used for disposal of waste from whatever trade or craft was practised by the plot holder. General domestic rubbish would also have been disposed of in these areas, with middens being the norm in the 10th-11th centuries and, from the 12th century, rubbish being increasingly buried in pits due to a growth in the quantity of waste from craft industries (Carver 1987, 69). The 14th century largely saw a cessation in the use of rubbish pits, possibly as a response to the spread of the Black Death, which led to refuse being disposed of in town tips, with rubbish pits reappearing in the backlot areas only in the 17th century (*ibid.*). Latrines were also built in these areas, although inside facilities were introduced as early the 13th century (*ibid.*).

There are only tentative indications of medieval backlot activities from the excavated material at Bedale. In North East England, the production of linen cloth from flax had become a widespread and regionally important industry by the medieval period (Higham 1989). Flax retting, soaking of flax to release fibres, may have been undertaken at the site and, given that flax stems can be soaked either in stagnant or moving water, the water-logged boundary ditches that were identified could have been utilised for this purpose. It is perhaps more likely that the plants were brought in from the surrounding area to be retted on site, rather than being grown in the town (Schofield and Vince 1994, 109). There was also some indication that the plots had been utilised for animal grazing.

Later medieval activity was represented by the footing of a cobble or masonry dwarf wall, presumably for a timber-framed structure, and a possible yard surface. Given

its location, some 60 m back from the street frontage, the wall - dated to the 14th-15th century - probably represents a small outbuilding within the backlot area. The building could have spanned the boundary between the two identified plots, suggesting that the divisions were not strictly adhered to during the late medieval period. However, cartographic evidence suggests that the original line of the boundary had been reinstated by the second half of the 18th century, when much of Bedale was rebuilt. Developed soils recorded at the site indicate that backlot areas may have been used solely as gardens from the late medieval period until the 19th century.

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THE ESHOLT PRIORY CHARTER OF 1485 AND ITS DECORATION ¹

By William Connor

*The rediscovery of the Esholt Priory Charter of 1485 is a matter of great significance to students of manuscript decoration in the fifteenth century.² Until offered for sale at Sotheby's in June 1990 its existence had been unknown for over a century. It was illustrated by Philemon Slater in his *History of Guiseley* in 1880, when it belonged with other deeds and documents relating to the pre-Reformation monastic estate then in the possession of General Crompton-Stansfield of Esholt Hall.³ However, it and some other items noted by Slater were not included in the deposit of the Esholt Estate archives with Leeds City Libraries in 1940. It is now clear that Slater's illustration did the artist little justice. Here we have a document of the utmost importance, not only in terms of its decorative qualities and the circumstances in which it was created, but also for the light it throws on the accidents which could befall benefactions and patronage at this time.*

The document [Figs. 1-3] is drawn up on a membrane of parchment measuring 266mm by 540mm, plus 66mm folded over at the foot. It contains nineteen lines of text within ruled borders and is decorated with elaborate pen and ink strapwork initials to the top line, a crowned Virgin and Child within the initial 'R', an arched crown above with seated lion supporters and, in the left margin, a group of a prioress and eight nuns kneeling in prayer before a prie-dieu. There is an empty scroll above their heads. Space has been left to the right of the text block as though further

¹ This is a revised version of the paper which was awarded the Beresford Prize in the Yorkshire History Essay Prize competition in 2007. Grateful thanks are due to the Marc Fitch Fund and the Richard III and Yorkist History Trust for grants towards the cost of the illustrations.

In the following notes, the printed works cited were published in London unless indicated otherwise.

² The document is held by the West Yorkshire Archive Service, Leeds (WYAS Leeds), under accession no. 3429. Previous discussion of it by the present writer will be found in the *Annual Report* of the Friends of the National Libraries 1990, pp. 28-29 and in the *National Art Collections Fund Review* 1991, pp. 121-125. I am particularly indebted to Elizabeth Danbury for discussing this charter with me and for her many suggestions. Her own wide-ranging study, 'The Decoration and Illumination of Royal Charters in England, 1250-1509: An Introduction' is printed in Michael Jones and Malcolm Vale (eds), *England and her Neighbours 1066-1453: Essays in Honour of Pierre Chaplais* (1989), pp. 157-179 and provides essential background matter for this paper. She also discusses the international propaganda perspectives of such documents in 'English and French Artistic Propaganda during the period of the Hundred Years War: Some Evidence from Royal Charters', in *Power, Culture and Religion in France c.1350-c.1550*, ed. C. Allmand (Woodbridge 1989) pp. 75-97. Of the many other colleagues and scholars who have discussed this document with me, particular thanks are due to Dr Kathleen Scott, Dr Anne Sutton and to the anonymous referee appointed by the editors. They have all suggested new lines of research and saved me from many slips and errors of interpretation. However, the views expressed and any remaining errors are my own.

³ Philemon Slater, *History of the Ancient Parish of Guiseley*, (London & Leeds 1880), pp. 62-63.



Fig. 1 Esholt Priory Charter 1485, WYAS Leeds accession no 3429. By courtesy of the West Yorkshire Archive Service.



Fig. 2 Esholt Priory Charter 1485, detail of initial.

decoration might have been contemplated there.⁴ The only endorsements are the word 'Belton' in two places and the letter 'M',⁵ all in faded hands of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Although now detached, the greater part of the pendent Great Seal survives with remains of the blue and pink silk cords by which it was formerly attached to the document.

The text was first printed in 1723 in John Stevens' two volume edition of additions to Dugdale's *Monasticon*. It was included amongst a series of documents then in the custody of Sir Walter Calverley of Calverley, the builder of Esholt Hall, but it was mistakenly dated to the reign of Richard II. This error was further compounded in 1758 by John Burton, whose own *Monasticon* dates it to 1191, the second year of the reign of Richard I. However, the editors of the monumental reissue of Dugdale in 1817-30 retained Stevens' date, an error repeated by Philemon Slater in 1880 and again by the Victoria County History in 1913, although it is recorded in the Patent

⁴ Cf. the charter of incorporation granted to the Wax Chandlers in 1484 which, although different in style, is decorated on three sides. See Fig. 20 and n. 53 below.

⁵ The letter 'M' refers to Hemingway's catalogue of the archives at Esholt compiled in 1694: 'a Wooden Box with Knivett's & Wooley's Deeds & a patent for Grant of the advowson of Belton in the Isle of Axholme...'. British Library (BL) Add. MS 27,417.

Rolls for the reign of Richard III, whose calendared text had appeared in 1901.⁶ This charter is not to be confused with the confirmation issued by Henry VII on 5 March 1486, the original of which was also at Esholt before 1755 and which is now amongst the Calverley Charters at the British Library.⁷ The text printed by Stevens is that of our original.

Esholt was anciently in the parish of Otley and lies on the northern bank of the river Aire. The Cistercian priory was founded in the late twelfth century, and dedicated to the Virgin Mary and St Leonard. It was never a large or well-endowed house and appears latterly to have supplemented its income by operating as a girls' boarding school. At the time of suppression in 1539 it had only a prioress and eight nuns, with a chaplain and nine servants. Its estates were then 154 acres producing £36.6s.11d in rents. After the Dissolution the estate was purchased in 1547 by Henry Thompson, a gentleman-at-arms in the court of Henry VIII, whose descendant, Frances, married Walter Calverley in 1662. Their son, also called Walter, began to build Esholt Hall on the Priory site in 1706 and was created a baronet in 1711. After his death in 1749 the estate passed to his son, another Walter, who had adopted his mother's name of Blackett on his succession to that family's property at Wallington in Northumberland. Esholt was subsequently sold in 1755 to Robert Stansfield of Bradford and most of the muniments transferred to Wallington. They were eventually inherited by Sir Walter Calverley Trevelyan, who presented them to the British Museum in 1866. Some, however, including this charter, remained at Esholt where they were last recorded by Philemon Slater in 1880.⁸ The 'Firr deale press with Drawers' in which they were kept in Sir Walter Calverley's closet at Esholt in 1737 was still in the muniment room there in 1904, but this and its contents appear to have been dispersed after the sale of the property to Bradford Corporation in 1906.⁹ Although the deeds and papers deposited at Leeds City Library by the Crompton

⁶ John Stevens, *History of the Ancient Abbeys, Monasteries, Hospitals, Cathedral and Collegiate Churches. Being Two Additional Volumes to Sir William Dugdale's Monasticon Anglicanum*, (1722-1723), vol. 2, p. 299; John Burton, *Monasticon Eboracense* (York 1758) p. 139; William Dugdale (ed. J. Caley, H. Ellis & B. Bandinel), *Monasticon Anglicanum* (1846) vol. 5, p. 471; *VCH Yorks* (1913) vol. 3, p. 213. *Calendar of Patent Rolls 1476-1485* (1901) p.535.

⁷ BL, Add. Ch. 17,126. The decoration is confined to a few pen flourishes only.

⁸ H.E. Bell, 'Esholt Priory', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* (YAJ), vol. 33 (Leeds 1938) pp. 5-33; J.S. Purvis (ed.), 'A Selection of Monastic Rentals and Dissolution Papers', *Miscellanea* iii, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series vol. 80 (Wakefield 1931) pp. 81-87; Slater pp. 62-63. A portrait of Frances Thompson as a child remains at Wallington Hall.

⁹ S. Margerison & W.P. Baildon, *The Calverley Charters* I, Publications of the Thoresby Society vol. 6 (Leeds 1904), p. xxixn. See also BL Add. MS 27,417 for "A Catalogue of the Deeds Writings and Papers in the Presse with Drawers in Sir Walter Calverley's Clossett at Esholt marked Alphabetically & look over December 7th 1737". This is based on Hemingway's catalogue of 1694, of which Ralph Thoresby, the Leeds local historian, commented on 25 July 1711, "Mr Hemingway is not only very shaky at reading the old deeds, but has been very lucky in many of his guesses....", BL Add. MS 27, 412 f.263. The agreement for the sale of Esholt to Stansfield survives and refers to the conveyance of the furniture etc. along with the estate, except plate, linen, china, knives and forks, family pictures, books and needlework of the late Lady Calverley (WYAS Leeds: ST754). As usual, the division of deeds and documents was pretty haphazard.

family as heirs of the Stansfields in 1940 did not include this or any other of the Priory charters noted by Slater, they did include manor court rolls of Yeadon and Esholt 1361-1476 and rentals 1370-1417.¹⁰

The present document is a licence under letters patent of Richard III permitting Margaret Clifford to give the advowson of the church of Belton-in-Axholme, Lincolnshire, to the Priory of Esholt, with power for the Priory to appropriate the revenues of the living. The sacrament and cure of souls are to be performed by an unbeneficed chaplain and the Priory is to arrange the annual distribution of a portion of the income, as limited by the bishop, in alms to the poor of the parish. The need for this charter arose from the Statute of Mortmain of 1279 whereby the donor was obliged to obtain the royal consent to her gift. Its purpose in law was to exonerate the nuns from any feudal incidents, such as knight service and succession taxes, which might be attached to the advowson or the benefice itself. The granting of property to the 'dead hands' of religious corporations, which neither died nor left infant heirs, was a procedure which damaged the interests of feudal overlords and ultimately of the Crown itself. The Statute of Mortmain sought to regulate the practice but not to prohibit it. Lucrative fees were due to the Crown for grants under the statute which made the title of the beneficiaries all the more secure.¹¹ In this case, however, as we shall see, the latter intention was thwarted.

Margaret was the widow of John, Lord Clifford, the Lancastrian knight who was killed at Ferrybridge on the eve of the battle of Towton in 1461. Known variously as 'the Butcher' and 'Black-faced Clifford', he is said to have cruelly slaughtered his prisoners after the battle of Wakefield (1460), including the Earl of Rutland, a brother of Edward IV and Richard III. Margaret was born about 1440. She was the daughter and heir of Henry Bromflete, Lord Vescy, of Londesborough in the East Riding. Her marriage brought the Bromflete estates into the Clifford family but, since her father did not die until January 1469 and she was an heiress in her own right, this property avoided the attainder applied to that of the Lancastrian Cliffords after 1461. In 1472 a pardon granted by Edward IV to Henry, her eldest son by Clifford, recognised him as heir to the Bromflete estates without lifting the attainder on his father's inheritance.¹² Margaret married her second husband, Sir Lancelot Threlkeld of Cumberland, sometime before her father's death, but she retained her first husband's name, not only because it reflected his higher social status, but also because of her continued commitment to the Clifford cause. Similarly, as heiress to the Bromfletes she also retained her father's title of Lord Vescy. Her interest in the priory at Esholt seems

¹⁰ WYAS Leeds: ST 31a; ST 778-779; ST 781-783; ST 795.

¹¹ For a study of the statute and its impact see Sandra Raban, *Mortmain Legislation and the English Church 1279-1500* (Cambridge 1982).

¹² Henry Summerson, 'John Clifford, ninth Baron Clifford', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford 2004) (ODNB); G.E. Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage*, ed. V. Gibbs et al. (1910-59) (GEC) under Clifford and Vescy; Yorkshire Archaeological Society Archives DD 121/112/77 (inquisition post mortem of Sir Henry Bromflete); A.G. Dickens (ed.), *Clifford Letters*, Surtees Society vol. 172 (1962) pp. 18-19; Richard T. Spence, *The Shepherd Lord of Skipton Castle* (Skipton 1994) p. 13. An abstract of Bromflete's will is printed in J. W. Clay (ed.), *North Country Wills*, Surtees Society vol. 116 (1908) pp. 53-54. A widow's own inheritance was protected from the effects of a husband's treason under a statute of 1388; see R.E. Archer, 'Rich old ladies: the problem of late medieval dowagers' in A.J. Pollard (ed.), *Property and Politics: Essays in Later Medieval English History* (Gloucester 1984) p. 20.





Fig. 4 Eton College Consolidation Charter 1446 (ECR 39/57), detail of top line decoration. Reproduced by permission of the Provost and Fellows of Eton College.

almost to have come about by chance. Neither the Cliffords nor the Bromfletes had any established interests in the neighbourhood. However, the impoverished state of the Priory may have come to her notice through her half-sister, Joan Tunstall, who married Sir Roger Warde of Guiseley. The prioress in 1485, Joan Warde, was almost certainly a child of the family, possibly Sir Roger's daughter and therefore Margaret's niece by marriage.¹³ In any case Esholt lay in Guiseley parish. At this date, being of advancing years, Margaret may have seen her benefaction as a form of penance which might ease her passage into the after life. Alternatively, Esholt being some eighteen miles south-east of the Clifford seat at Skipton and no doubt, like other nunneries, closely linked to the local community through recruitment and the kinship links of its members, she may have seen the benefaction as an opportunity to widen the potential influence of her son whenever his paternal estates should be restored to him.¹⁴ She died in 1493 and is commemorated by a brass in the church at Londesborough.¹⁵

Her interest in Belton-in-Axholme was part of her father's inheritance. In 1326 the rectory had been granted by Thomas, Lord Wake, to the newly founded priory of Haltemprice, near Hull. It appears to have presented to the benefice regularly until 1407, but the next recorded presentation in 1456 was made by Henry Bromflete, Margaret's father. His interest had descended from Wake, who had died in 1349, via his niece Joan Plantagenet, to the Holand family, earls of Kent, and after failure of their male line in 1408, to Joan Holand, whose third husband was Sir Henry de Bromflete.¹⁶ After Sir Henry's death the advowson remained in the hands of his daughter Margaret, who presented to the living in 1470 through her second husband, Lancelot Threlkeld. However, their title must have been defective, because Esholt Priory never enjoyed the benefits of the grant of 1485. In 1490 the Bishop of Lincoln presented and in 1500 the nomination reverted to Haltemprice. An attempt by the nuns of Esholt to make a presentation in 1518 was unsuccessful and the value of the benefaction does not appear in the assessment for the Valor Ecclesiasticus of 1535. However, it was

¹³ W.P. Baildon, *Baildon and the Baidons* (Letchworth 1913) p. 266; C.H. Hunter Blair, *Visitations of the North* iii, Surtees Society vol. 144 (1930) pp. 80-81. It has been suggested that Joan was an illegitimate child. She resigned her office in 1496 and may be the same Joan Ward as one who married at this time. See John H. Tillotson, *Marrick Priory: A Nunnery in Late Medieval Yorkshire*, Borthwick Paper 75 (York 1989) p. 4; Eric E. Barker (ed.), *The Register of Thomas Rotherham Archbishop of York 1480-1500*, The Canterbury and York Society vol. 69 (Torquay 1976) pp. 91 and 126. I am indebted to the late Dr R.T. Spence for these last references.

¹⁴ I am again indebted to Dr Spence for this suggestion. See also Paul Lee, *Nunneries, Learning and Spirituality in Late Medieval English Society: The Dominican Priory of Dartford* (York 2001) pp. 57-67. As always, charitable benefactions could be a form of public display (A.J. Pollard, *Property and Politics* p. 12). For the life of Henry, 10th Lord Clifford, see Spence, *The Shepherd Lord* and *ODNB*.

¹⁵ Cf. Hugh Clifford, *The House of Clifford* (Chichester 1987), where Lord Clifford's comment that Margaret's monumental brass at Londesborough "recently went missing" is misleading. It remains in its established position in front of the high altar (Nikolaus Pevsner and David Neave, *The Buildings of England. Yorkshire: York and the East Riding*, 2nd ed. 1995, p. 602).

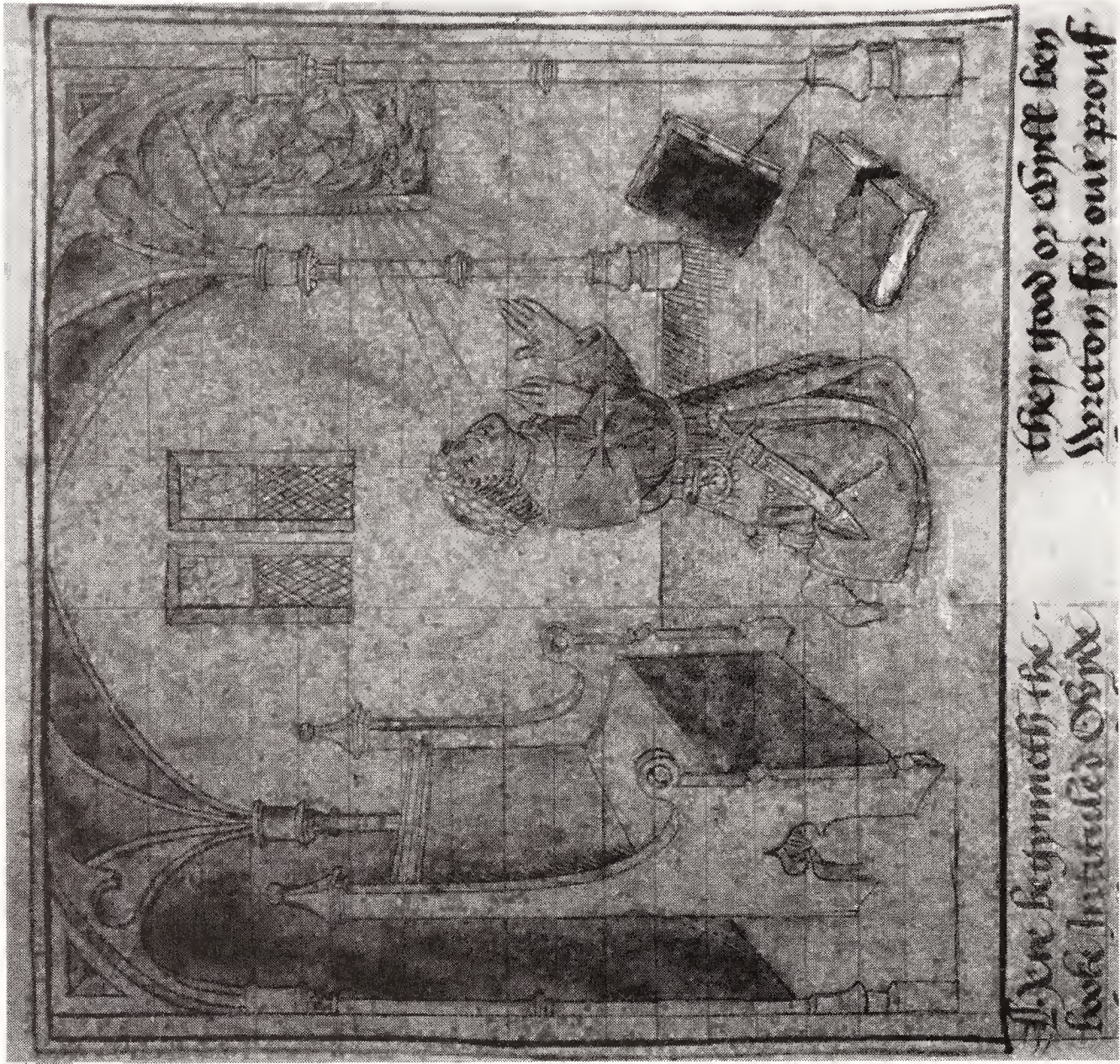
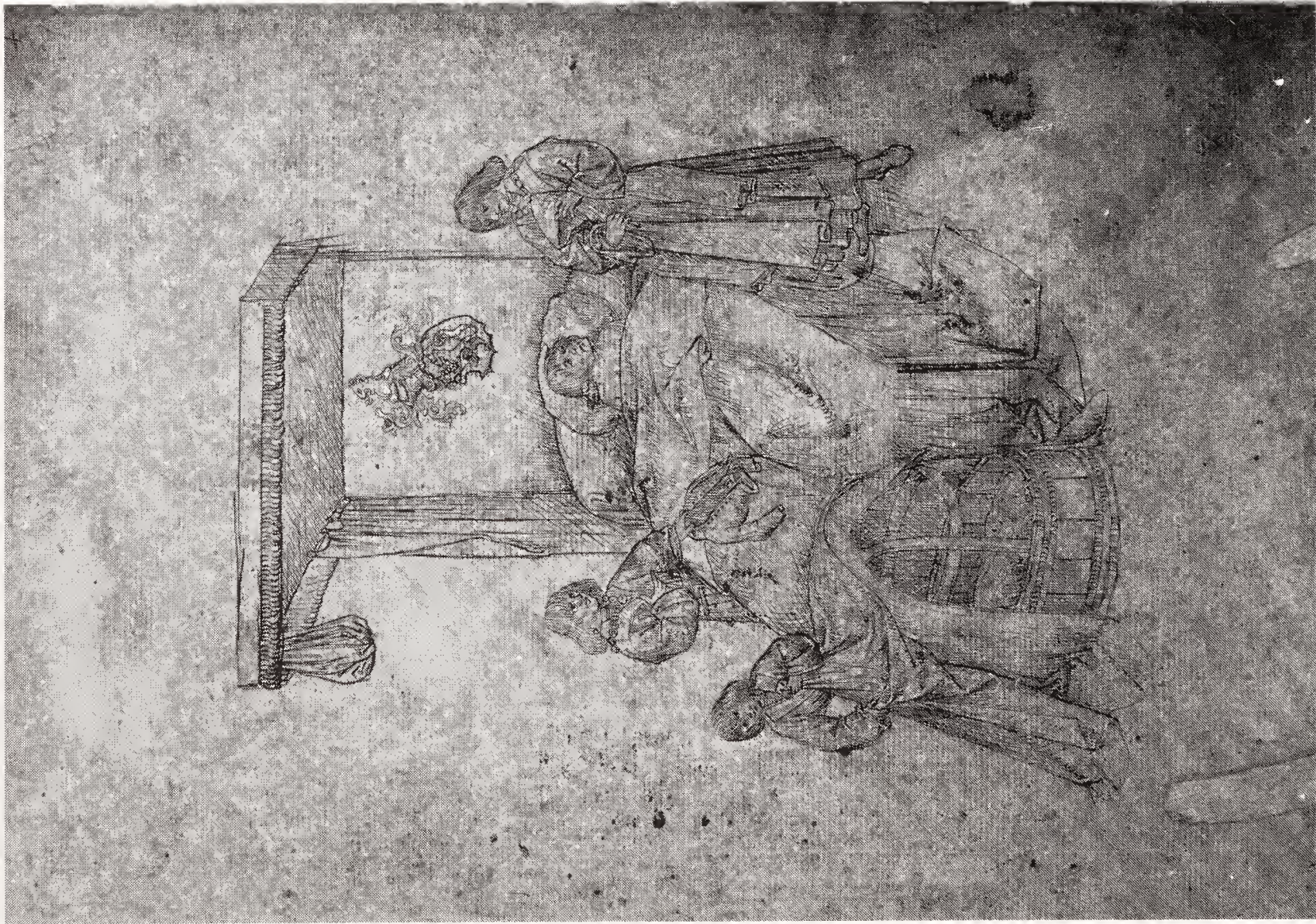
¹⁶ *VCH Yorks* iii, 213; W.B. Stonehouse, *The History and Topography of the Isle of Axholme*, (1839), pp. 332-334; T.F. Tout, 'Thomas Wake', *Dictionary of National Biography* (1899); *GEC*; Bell, 'Esholt Priory'.



Fig. 6 'Avarice' from *The Mirroure of the Worlde* (MS Bodleian. 283 f. 59). Reproduced by courtesy of the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford.

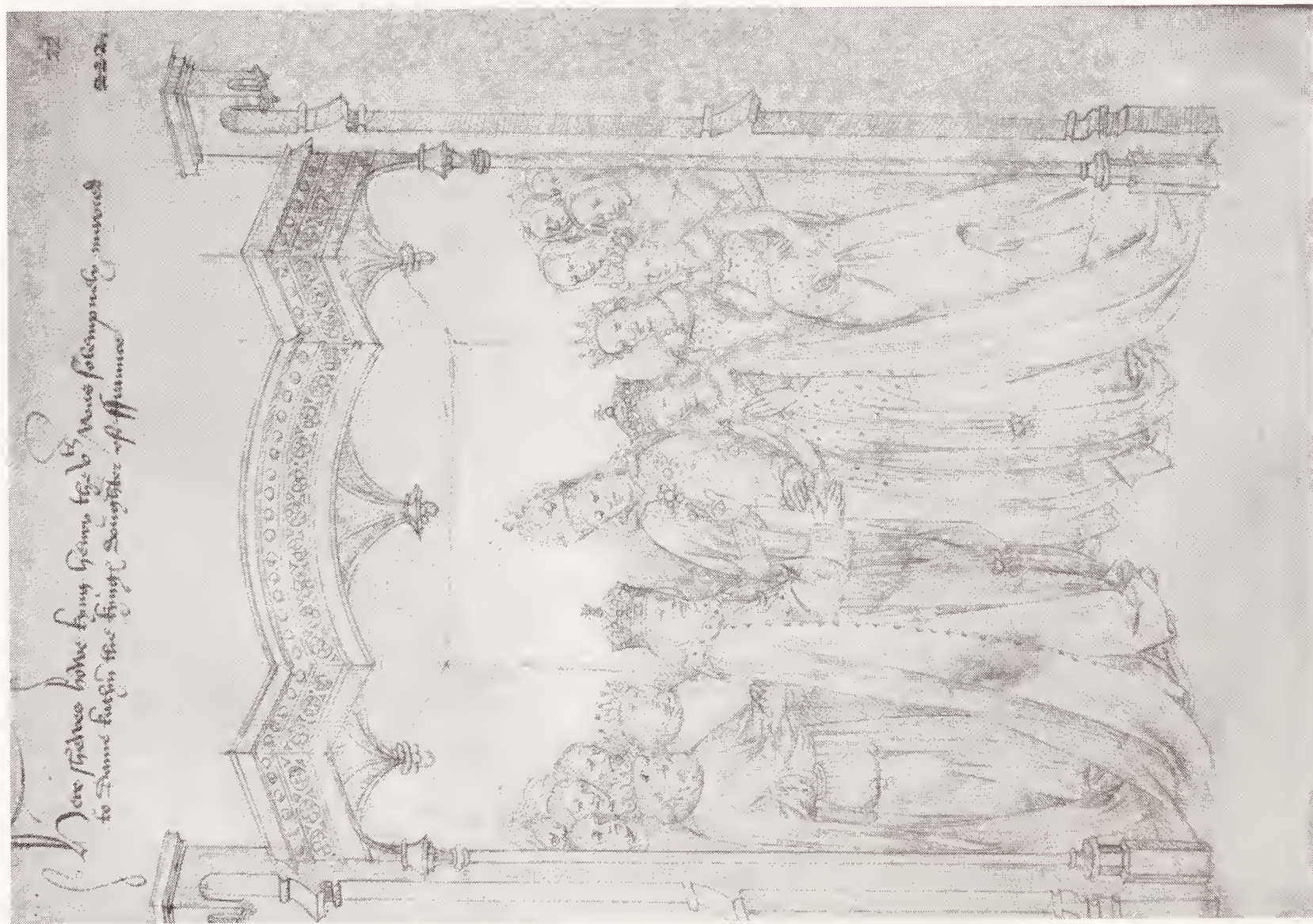


Fig. 5 Thomas Chaundler presents his *Liber Apologeticus* to Bishop Beckington. Trinity College, Cambridge, MS R.14.5 f. 9v. Reproduced by permission of the Master and Fellows of Trinity College.



Left: Fig. 7 *Writhe's Garter Book*: the knight-candidate for the Bath in the bed of little value. Formerly BL Loan MS 90, p.110, reproduced by courtesy of the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry from a photograph provided by the British Library. Copyright © *The British Library Board*. All rights reserved.

Above: Fig.8 Caxton's *Ovid*: Ovid seeking inspiration. The Pepys Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge MS.F.4.34 f. 16. Reproduced by courtesy of the Pepys Librarian.



Left: Fig. 9 The Beauchamp Pageant: the marriage of King Henry V of England to Katharine of France (BL Cotton MS. Julius E.IV, Art. 6, f.22). Copyright © The British Library Board. All rights reserved.

Above: Fig. 10 Part of Eton College Chapel wall painting (south wall VII): the Emperor's brother healed. Reproduced by permission of the Provost and Fellows of Eton College.



Fig. 11 King's Bench Plea Roll, Trinity 1483, initial 'P' (TNA: KB27/888/2). Reproduced by courtesy of The National Archives.

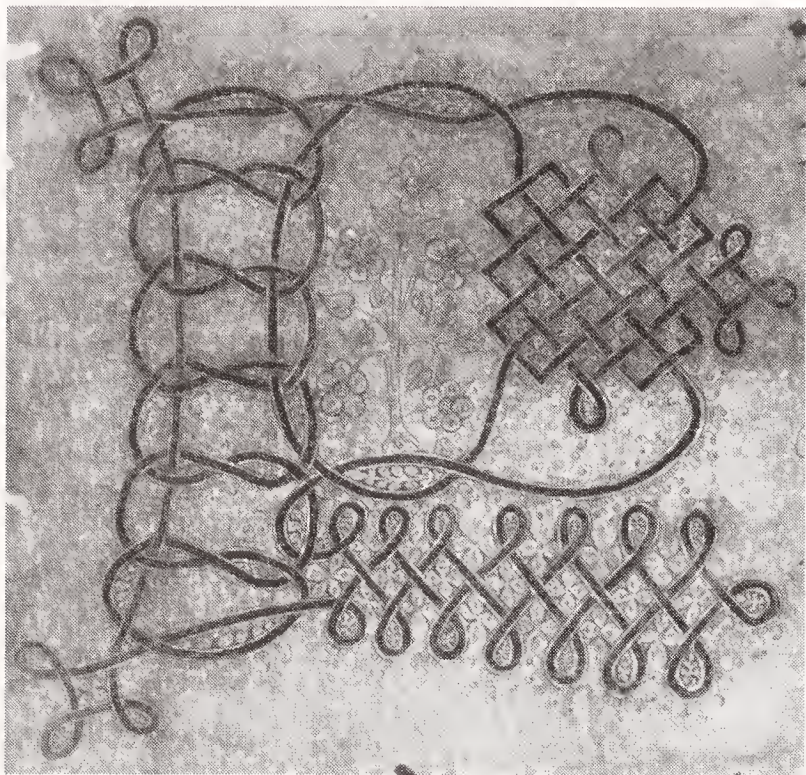


Fig. 12 King's Bench Plea Roll, Michaelmas 1484, initial 'P' (TNA: KB27/893/2). Reproduced by courtesy of The National Archives.

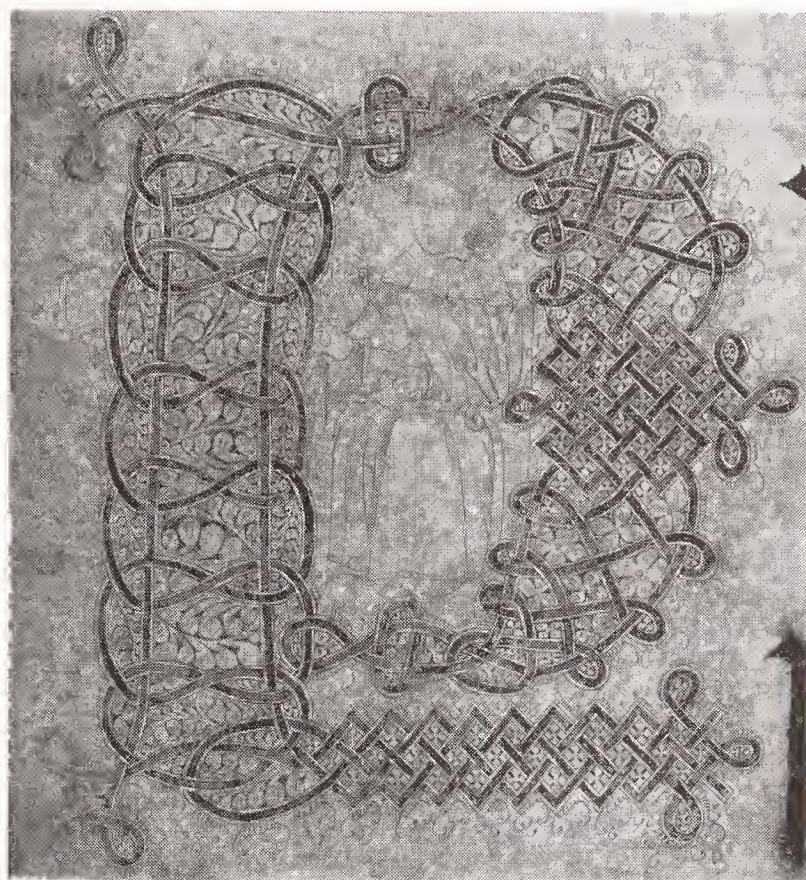


Fig. 13 King's Bench Plea Roll, Hilary 1487, initial 'P' with a possible portrait of Chief Justice William Hussey (TNA: KB27/902/2). Reproduced by courtesy of The National Archives.

included there in the revenues of Haltemprice, where it yielded 66s. 8d annually.¹⁷ On this basis the loss of the advowson reduced the potential revenues of Esholt by nearly ten per cent.

It is ironic that such an elaborate charter should have been so ineffective in achieving its aims. The cost of obtaining it is not known but, on the evidence of other examples for which accounts survive, it must have far exceeded the initial proposed benefits. In the middle of the fifteenth century Sir Henry Fylungley complained to Sir John Fastolf that the fine levied for a grant in mortmain was five times the annual income of the property.¹⁸ However, the costs of drawing up such documents, as with prices in general, appear to have remained relatively stable throughout the fifteenth century. Engrossing fees ranged from 6s. 8d to £1. 6s. 8d per membrane, depending on size, and the great seal generally cost £8. 9s. 0d plus 1s. 8d for the silk laces. On the other hand the legal fees and incidental expenses could be enormous. The total cost of the undecorated Southampton Corporation charter of 1461 is recorded as £16. 14s. 0d. That obtained by Hull in 1532, including dinners, wine and 'rewards', boat hire and the expenses of forty days, attendance in London by Alderman Madeson came to £31. 18s. 6d. Against this the charge of 6s. 8d for the impressively illuminated 'great letters' is not significant, although it looks expensive against the 5s. 0d paid for those on a grant to the Earl of Rutland in

¹⁷ Stonehouse, *Isle of Axholme*; Bell, 'Esholt Priory' pp. 12-13. I am indebted to my colleague Christopher Johnson of the Lincolnshire Archives Office for checking Stonehouse's references in the bishop's registers. Professor David Smith has drawn my attention to the entry in the bishop's register recording that the collation of Belton in 1490 was by lapse (Lincolnshire Archives Office, Reg. XXII, f.166^r).

¹⁸ BL Add. MS 43,488 f.45, printed in J. Gairdner, *Paston Letters* (Edinburgh 1904) vol. 3, p. 98. Raban pp.177-186 discusses the calculation of these fines.



Fig. 14 Register of Robert Stillington as Bishop of Bath and Wells, 1474, initial 'S'. Reproduced by kind permission of the Somerset Record Office (D/D/breg/7, f. 49v.)

1541. A century earlier, however, William Abel had been paid £1. 6s. 8d for his elaborate embellishment of the Eton College charter of 1446 (Fig. 4).¹⁹ Yet it is clear that, compared with fees and other expenses, decoration was not the most important element in the costs of obtaining such grants and its omission seems to have been more a matter of inclination and fashion than economy. Throughout the fifteenth century it continued to be the exception rather than the rule. The great majority of royal grants were issued without having the initial letters filled in and in most cases the recipients left them that way. Of seven surviving charters granted to Southampton between 1425 and 1484 only two had the initials added, but in both cases involving marginal decorations. On the other hand, at Hull, of eight such charters 1414-1462, no less than four were elaborately embellished with strapwork, crowns, shields of arms, the royal portrait and mottoes.²⁰ That Margaret Clifford should choose to

¹⁹ D.C. Coleman, *The Economy of England 1450-1750* (Oxford 1977) pp. 22-23; J.R. Boyle, *Charters and Letters Patent Granted to Kingston upon Hull* (Hull 1905) pp. 47-49, 66-67; H.C. Maxwell-Lyte, *Historical notes on the use of the Great Seal of England* (1926) pp. 265, 340; J.S. Davies, *A History of Southampton* (Southampton 1883) pp. 156-157; Danbury, 'Royal Charters', p. 160. Some measure of the rates of pay obtained by document illuminators may be obtained by comparing that received by Simon Marmion, for whom a single miniature would cover the cost of reroofing his house in 1463, with the remuneration of an artist in Flanders at that time, who needed to paint 60 miniatures per annum in order to make a living (J.J.G Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators and their Methods of Work*, (1992), p. 32). See also n. 68 below.

²⁰ E. Welch, *Southampton City Charters*, Southampton Papers 4 (Southampton 1966) pp. 30-34 and cover; Boyle pp. 47-49, 66-67.

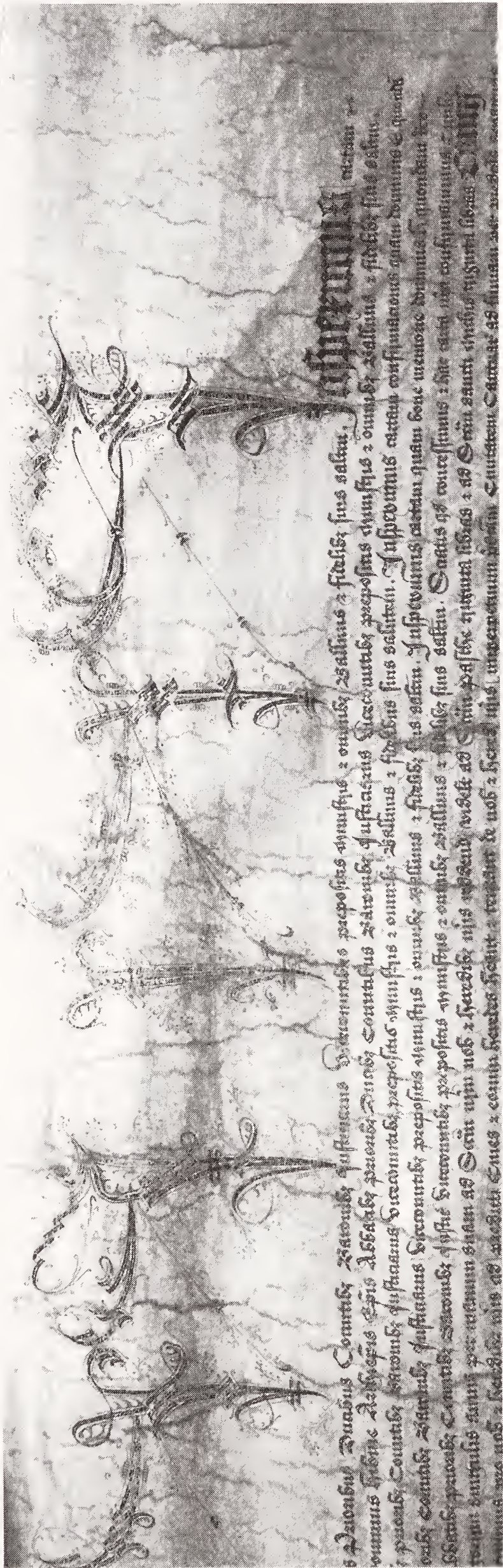


Fig. 15 Canterbury City Charter 1461, part of the top line decoration of the first membrane.
Reproduced by courtesy of Canterbury Cathedral Archives (CC/AA 34).

have her grant so elaborately decorated is an indication of its importance to her and of her involvement in the artistic fashions of late fifteenth century London.

Her charter has faint lower case letters visible below the strapwork initials indicating that it was itself issued from the Chancery in an undecorated form (Fig. 3). From the Hull accounts it is clear that she or her agents would have been obliged to attend the numerous offices about the court over a number of weeks between submitting her initial petition and receiving the sealed charter. Therefore she would have had ample time in which to select a limner to decorate it. The distinct styles of embellishment generally employed at this time suggest one or two central workshops or groups of craftsmen associated with the Chancery and the law courts, but Caxton's London was replete with such artisans. The recipients of royal charters were not their only patrons. Heraldic grants, such as that obtained by the Tallow Chandlers in 1456, were prepared by the College of Arms, whose members either employed or had access to suitable craftsmen.²¹ The records of the Corporation of London's Bridge House Estate show London Bridge to have been a centre for stationers, textwriters, limners, booksellers and bookbinders. Between 1395 and 1540 over seventy such craftsmen appear there either as tenants or recipients of commissions. There was another such group in the vicinity of St Paul's and Paternoster Row.²²

Alongside, or possibly amongst this substantial group of artisans, a distinct style of English decorative drawing had emerged during the reigns of the two Yorkist kings. Its authors have yet to be identified. As illuminators of documents they were working within an established tradition, but they brought to it the sophistication of the Flemish artists admired by Edward IV and his court.²³ The origins of this style have been found in the early years of the fifteenth century in a set of miniatures illustrating the travels of Sir John Mandeville. Relying on architectural evidence, Sir George Warner originally attributed them to Flanders, but subsequently Elfrida Saunders considered them to be English.²⁴ That the style was developing by the middle of the century is apparent from the illustrations to Thomas Chaundler's

²¹ H.C. Maxwell-Lyte, *Great Seal* p. 383; see also n. 46 below.

²² C. Paul Christianson, *Memorials of the Book Trade in Medieval London: the Archives of Old London Bridge* (Woodbridge 1987) p. 2, and 'The rise of London's book-trade' in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, ed. Lotte Hellinga and J. B. Trapp, vol. 3 (Cambridge 1999) pp. 128-147 (pp. 128-129). Kathleen L. Scott points out that 'high-end' book decoration and decorative penwork were not confined to London, bracketing the Guildbook of the York Barber Surgeons (BL Egerton MS 2572), which was made in York 1486-7, with the Beauchamp Pageants and the English version of the Rous Roll (BL Add. MS 48976), *Tradition and Innovation in Later Medieval English Manuscripts* (2007) p. 146; Kathleen L. Scott, *A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles*, vol. 6: *Later Gothic Manuscripts 1390-1490*, 2 vols (1996) (*Later Gothic MSS*), vol. 1, ills. 495-503, vol. 2, entries 137-139; see also notes 31 and 32 below.

²³ Pamela Tudor-Craig, *Richard III*, exhibition catalogue, National Portrait Gallery, London (1973) pp. 7-8; Margaret Rickert, *Painting in Britain: the Middle Ages*, 2nd ed. (1965) pp. 180-185.

²⁴ BL Add. MS 24,189, reproduced in George F. Warner (ed.), *The Buke of John Maundeuill, being the travels of Sir John Mandeville, Knight 1322-1356*, Roxburghe Club (1889), and in *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*, ed. Josef Krasa, (New York 1983); O. Elfrida Saunders, *English Illumination* (Paris 1928). Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts* vol. 2, entries 70A and 70B, discusses two different versions, being BL Royal MS 17.C.XXXVIII and BL Harleian MS 3954.

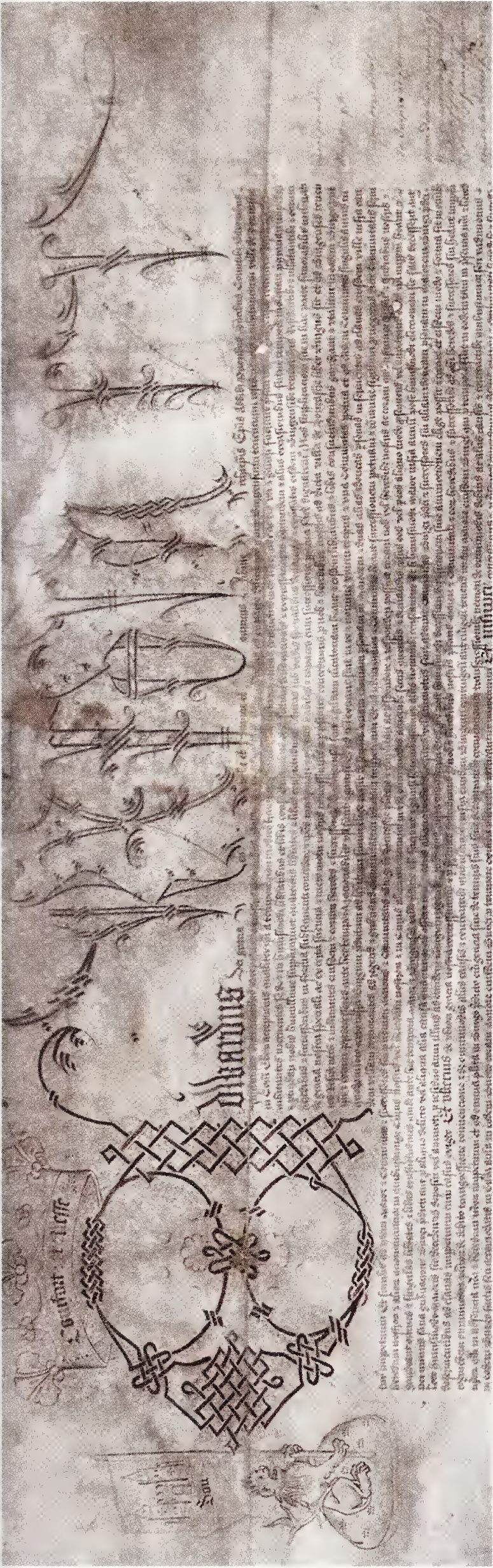


Fig. 16 Doncaster Borough Charter 1467, top line decoration. Reproduced by courtesy of Doncaster Archives (AB 1/1/4).

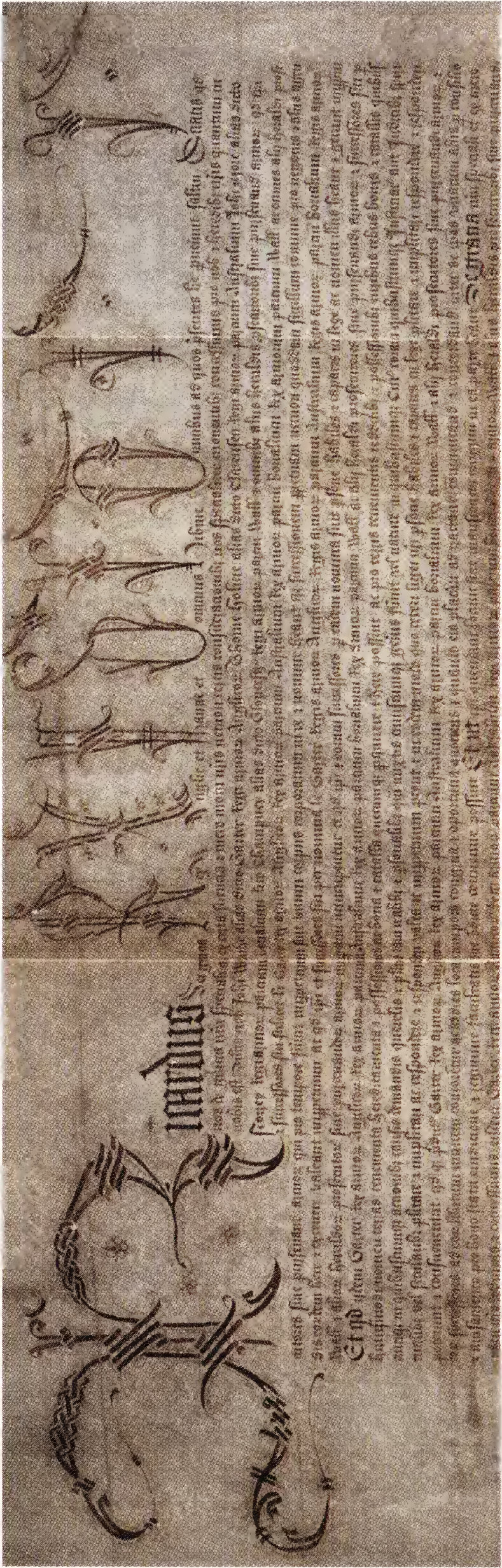


Fig. 17 Charter for the College of Arms 1484 (BL Cotton MS. Faustina E1, ff. 30v.-31r.) Copyright © The British Library Board. All rights reserved.



Fig. 18 Bristol Borough Charter 1484, initial. Reproduced by courtesy of Bristol Record Office (01226).



Fig. 19 Gloucester City Charter 1483, detail showing the initial and the arms of Richard III as King. © Gloucester City Museum & Art Gallery.

Liber Apologeticus, which has been dated to the years 1457-61 (Fig. 5).²⁵ E.G. Millar thought the same artist was also responsible for a drawing executed at about the same time showing Lydgate presenting a copy of *The Pilgrim* to the Earl of Salisbury.²⁶ All the identified surviving works of this style in its maturity were completed before 1490 and are principally those manuscript illustrations which have been attributed by Kathleen Scott to 'The Caxton Master'.²⁷ They are those provided for a Middle English moral treatise known as *The Mirroure of the Worlde* (c.1470-1480) (Fig. 6),²⁸ a single illustration in *Writhe's Garter Book* (c.1475-86) (Fig. 7),²⁹ those in Caxton's *Metamorphoses of Ovid* (1480) (Fig. 8),³⁰ the English version of an armorial history of the earls of Warwick known as *The Rous Roll* (c.1477-85),³¹ and a chronicle of the life of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, called *The Beauchamp Pageants* (c.1483-87) (Fig. 9).³² The wall paintings in Eton College Chapel on the subject of the miracles of the Virgin, although in a different medium and now incomplete and sadly decayed, also belong to this group and date from the period 1479-87, (Fig. 10).³³ To these literary and artistic works may be

²⁵ Trinity College Cambridge MS.R.14.5, reproduced in Thomas Chaundler, *Liber Apologeticus de Omni Statu Humanae Naturae* (ed. Doris Enright-Clark Shoukri) (1974) p. 25; M.R. James (ed.), *The Chaundler MSS*, Roxburghe Club (1916) pp. 17, 23-24, 30; Rickert, plate 185; Alexandra Sinclair (ed.), *The Beauchamp Pageant*, Donington 2003, p. 2; Scott, *Later Gothic MSS*, vol. 1, illustration 392; vol. 2, entry 103.

²⁶ BL Harl.MS 4826 f.1; E.G. Millar, *English Illuminated Manuscripts of the 14th and 15th Centuries*, 1928, pp. 38-40, 76; Rickert, plate 184; Scott, *Later Gothic MSS* vol. 2, entry 111.

²⁷ Kathleen L. Scott, *The Caxton Master and his Patrons*, Cambridge Bibliographical Society, Monograph 8 (Cambridge 1976).

²⁸ Bodleian Library Oxford, MS Bodley 283; Kathleen L. Scott, *The Mirroure of the Worlde*, Roxburghe Club (Oxford 1980), and *Later Gothic MSS* vol. 2, entry 136.

²⁹ Formerly BL Loan MS 90 (Duke of Buccleuch's MS), but now in private custody, p. 110, reproduced in Scott, *The Caxton Master*, plates xiii and xvii, Sinclair, *Beauchamp Pageant*, pl. 5, and in Anthony Wagner, Nicholas Barker and Ann Payne (eds), *Medieval Pageant, Writhe's Garter Book, The Ceremony of the Bath and the Earldom of Salisbury Roll*, Roxburghe Club (1993), plate 6; Scott, *Later Gothic MSS* vol. 2, entry 96.

³⁰ Magdalene College Cambridge, Old Library, MS.F.4.34, reproduced by George Braziller as William Caxton, *The Metamorphoses of Ovid* (New York 1968).

³¹ BL Add.MS 48,976, reproduced by Lambert Larking and William Courthope 1845-59 and again in John Rous (introd. Charles Ross), *The Rous Roll* (Gloucester 1980), but neither version does justice to the original drawings, some of which also appear in Tudor-Craig, plates 8 & 9, Anthony Cheetham, *The Life and Times of Richard III* (1972) pp. 34, 42-43, 116; Scott, *Later Gothic MSS* vol. 1, ill. 500, 501, vol. 2, entry 138; for a colour plate see C. E. Wright, *English Heraldic Manuscripts in the British Museum* (1973) plate III.

³² BL Cotton MS. Julius E.IV, Art.6, reproduced by William, Earl of Carysfort (ed.), *The Pageants of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick*, Roxburghe Club (Oxford 1908), by Viscount Dillon and W.H. St John Hope (eds.), *Pageant of the birth, life and death of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, K.G., 1399-1439* (1914), and by Alexandra Sinclair (ed.), *The Beauchamp Pageant* (Donington 2003); Scott, *Later Gothic MSS* vol. 2, entry 137.

³³ Tudor-Craig, pp. 20-21; M.R. James and E.W. Tristram, 'The wall paintings in Eton College Chapel and in the Lady Chapel of Winchester Cathedral', *Walpole Society* 17 (Oxford 1929); Andrew Martindale, 'The Wall-paintings in the Chapel of Eton College', in Caroline Barron and Nigel Saul (eds), *England and the Low Countries in the Late Middle Ages* (Stroud and New York 1995) pp. 133-152; Miriam Gill, 'The Wall Paintings in Eton College Chapel: The Making of a Late Medieval Marian Cycle' in Phillip Lindley (ed.), *Making Medieval Art* (Donington 2003) pp. 173-201.

added the decorations applied at this time to such administrative documents as the plea rolls of the court of King's Bench (Figs. 11-13), to grants of arms to the gilds and city companies and to the royal charters issued by Chancery.³⁴ The Esholt charter is an important example of the latter, the more so because it combines decorative penwork and figure drawing and is clearly dated towards the end of the period in which this style flourished.

Erna Auerbach has examined the decoration of the King's Bench plea rolls and shown how it was a natural extension of the work of the limners and other craftsmen as decorators, not just of documents and books, but of all manner of courtly activities.³⁵ However, the plea rolls were never intended for display. Therefore this work must have been commissioned by the officers of the court of King's Bench because it was seen to add dignity to the record of their activities. Much of the decoration is unsophisticated, suggesting that the clerks were doing it themselves, but some has a level of finish that indicates the involvement of one or more professional workshops.³⁶ The court was headed by the Lord Chief Justice and its proceedings recorded by thirteen clerks called filazers under a chief clerk known as the prothonotary. They were not salaried officials, but relied on the fees charged to litigants. Each clerk was responsible for recording the cases assigned to him on a geographical basis, entering them on long, narrow membranes of parchment which were filed on top of each other at the end of each term to make up the bulky plea rolls as we know them today.³⁷ Decoration was usually confined to the initial 'P' of 'Placita' on the top membrane of each roll, where it would readily catch the eye of anybody consulting it. Often it was also added to the name of the Chief Justice where it authenticates the roll lower down the membrane, but this was rarely more than a few pen flourishes. Occasionally further decorations can be found elsewhere in the rolls. The names of the filazers who supervised their compilation are placed at the foot of each membrane and these also are usually flourished but, as with that of the Chief Justice, it seems unlikely that these 'signatures' are holograph. Nor is it possible to associate the decorations with particular filazers, who may have been in some rivalry with each

³⁴ Erna Auerbach, *Tudor Artists* (1954); Tudor-Craig, pp. 48-49.

³⁵ Auerbach p. 2.

³⁶ Cf. The National Archives (TNA), formerly Public Record Office, KB27/894 (King's Bench plea roll, Hilary Term 1485) where the decorations on mm.10, 55 and 61 compare poorly with that on the first membrane, which is reproduced in Tudor-Craig, plate 20. Anne Sutton, in a recent paper, 'An Unfinished Celebration of the Yorkist Accession by a Clerk of the Merchant Staplers of Calais', discusses the role of members of the London Scriveners' Company in the calligraphic decoration of charters, the Plea Rolls and other documents. She argues that, as a body of craftsmen, they were distinct from the limners and other book trade artisans, who were dominated by the Company of Stationers (Linda Clerk, ed., *The Fifteenth Century* 8, 2008, pp.135-161). I am indebted to Dr Sutton for showing me a draft of her paper in advance of publication. See also Francis W. Steer (ed.), *Scriveners' Company Common Paper 1357-1628*, London Record Society vol. 4 (1968) pp. vii-xiii.

³⁷ For the administrative background see Margaret Hastings, *The Court of Common Pleas in Fifteenth Century England* (Ithaca, New York, 1947); Marjorie Blatcher, *The Court of King's Bench 1450-1550* (1978); J.B. Post, 'King's Bench clerks in the reign of Richard II' *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* vol. 47 (1974), pp. 150-163; J.H. Baker and C.A.F. Meekings, 'King's Bench Files', in J.H. Baker (ed.), *Legal Records and the Historian*, 1978; J.H. Baker, 'The attorneys and officers of the common law in 1480', *Journal of Legal History* vol.1, (1980) pp. 182-203.



Fig. 20 Charter of Incorporation of the Wax Chandlers of London 1484, initial reproduced from a modern facsimile (Guildhall Library MS 9517A). Reproduced by kind permission of the Wax Chandlers' Company and the Guildhall Library, London.



Fig. 21 Initial from *De Re Militari*, showing the arms of Richard III as King (BL Royal MS. 18A.XII f. 1r.) Copyright © The British Library Board. All rights reserved.

other over the quality of the workmanship. No doubt much of it was carried out by that anonymous body of underclerks to whom the task of writing was usually assigned, but there may also have been occasions when the work was put out to specialist artists. This would explain why there are such fine examples to be found in the King's Bench plea rolls. Those of Common Pleas were rarely given such attention, in spite of the precedent of an illuminated initial on that for the beginning of the reign of Edward IV.³⁸ On Richard's accession the initial 'P' was decorated with his heraldic boar and some feathery mantling,³⁹ but on other occasions the work was rudimentary and no particular effort seems to have been made to mark the accession of Henry VII. At King's Bench, on the other hand, a tradition was developed whereby it became customary to incorporate a portrait of the monarch, a custom which was continued for nearly two hundred years.⁴⁰

Clearly, by the late fifteenth century an interest in decorative art for its own sake was developing outside the upper echelons of the royal court. The leading lawyers could also be men of substance and culture. Thomas Kebell (c.1439-1500), a serjeant-at-law, royal administrator and landed gentleman, accumulated an impressive library which was listed in detail in the inventory compiled on his death. Half consisted of manuscripts, including a finely bound *Decameron*, but we do not know whether any was illustrated. Almost certainly, however, some of his printed books would have been decorated by hand.⁴¹ If laymen could be so cultivated, it is little surprise to find lawyers and administrators from ecclesiastical backgrounds with related interests. The Master of the Rolls appointed to succeed Robert Morton in September 1483 was Dr Thomas Barowe, whose name is appended to this Esholt charter as the Chancery officer responsible for its issue. He was a distinguished humanist scholar who retained his mastership in Chancery and a prebend in St Stephen's Chapel, Westminster, after the battle of Bosworth.⁴² Robert Stillington, Bishop of Bath and Wells 1467-91, Lord Chancellor 1467-75 and Keeper of the Privy Seal from 1460, a man of Yorkshire origins who supported Richard III, had his bishop's register decorated with varying degrees of elaboration and sophistication throughout the period of his episcopacy up to his death in 1491. Often the initial 'S' is decorated with a ribbon studded with jewels, flowers, foliage and sunbursts; sometimes it is itself in the form of a ribbon with the bishop's name written upon it; sometimes there is a punning drawing of a tun (Fig. 14); in 1479 and 1489 the margin is decorated with a dragon; in 1488 a simple 'S' is decorated with daggers and roses; but most impressive of all is the drawing on the first folio, dated 1466, showing a peacock and a huntsman with bow and arrow, decorated with sunbursts, strapwork and foliage. These decorations probably owe much to his connections with the courts

³⁸ TNA CP40/801, reproduced in Hastings, plates II and III.

³⁹ TNA CP40/885b. The document is unfortunately too damaged to reproduce here, but the boar also appears on the King's Bench Plea Roll for Trinity 1483 (TNA KB27/888/2). It is Figure 11 here and also reproduced in Sean Cunningham, *Richard III: A royal enigma* (2003) p. 103. See also Tudor-Craig p. 48, where this roll is misdated to Easter 1484.

⁴⁰ Margaret Post, *Royal Portraits from the Plea Rolls*, Public Record Office Museum Pamphlet 5 (1974).

⁴¹ E. W. Ives, *The Common Lawyers of Pre-Reformation England* (Cambridge 1983) pp. 3, 362-367, 445-447.

⁴² Charles Ross, *Richard III* (1981) p. 134; Jonathan Hughes, 'Thomas Barowe', *ODNB*.



Fig. 22 Initial from the indenture founding King Henry VII's chantry at Westminster Abbey 1504, showing the Abbot and monks receiving the bound document from the King (TNA: E33/1/1 f. 1). By courtesy of The National Archives.

of law and royal household and are indicative of his links with the house of York.⁴³ The interests and tastes of William Hussey, Chief Justice of King's Bench 1481-1495, are not documented, but the description of him as 'homo universalis' suggests that he too was a member of this legal constellation (Fig. 13).⁴⁴ Certainly he presided over the Bench during the period of greatest interest for the decoration of its plea rolls and therefore may be taken for a supporter of this style of calligraphy and drawing.

The strapwork decoration of the top lines and initials of charters had first been introduced into Chancery during the reign of Henry VI and was now to become characteristic of legal instruments, formal account rolls and other documents.⁴⁵ Although it also appears on documents produced outside the Chancery, such as the

⁴³ Somerset Record Office, D/D/breg/7; H.C. Maxwell-Lyte, *The Registers of Robert Stillington and Richard Fox*, Somerset Record Society vol. 52 (1937); Ross, *Richard III*, plate 6b reproduces the initial for the year 1466; Michael Hicks, 'Robert Stillington' *ODNB*. Since Stillington only visited his diocese once in his long tenure, it is possible that the register was compiled in London from material sent from Wells (Charles Ross, *Edward IV*, 1974, p. 320).

⁴⁴ Ives, pp. 374-376, 378, 466; Norman Doe, 'William Hussey', *ODNB*.

⁴⁵ Danbury, 'Royal Charters' pp. 166-167. Kathleen Scott points out in correspondence that strapwork decoration can also be found frequently in literary manuscripts during the latter half of the fifteenth century and cites Bodleian MS Rawl. C. 48 (Lydgate, *Siege of Thebes*), f.5 as a fine example. See also Scott, *Later Gothic MSS*, vol. 1, figs. 21 and 28 and illus. 437 and 438.

heraldic grants to the Tallow Chandlers (1456),⁴⁶ the Brewers (1468),⁴⁷ and in administrative documents such as the rentals of Osney Abbey (1453-81),⁴⁸ in the reigns of Edward IV and Richard III it seems to have attained a particularly high level of accomplishment amongst the Chancery clerks and their colleagues working in the courts of common law at Westminster. It has been attributed by Pamela Tudor-Craig to a single anonymous artist whom she has called 'The Master of the Decorated Documents'.⁴⁹ The Esholt charter is an exceptionally fine example (Figs. 1-3). The superbly controlled strapwork is executed with the utmost confidence without trace of underdrawing. Utilising the spaces left by the text scribe, the initials are proportioned and spaced in the most satisfying manner, the loops of the ascending cadels delicately interlaced without confusing the forms of the individual letters. They are decorated with filigree foliage designs, tendrils, flowers concealed within the lattice of the strapwork and a kind of gadroon edging to the uprights and curves of the letters which are all highly characteristic. There is even a bunch of grapes within the initial 'O' of 'Omnibus'. Similar work can be found in the decorated headings of the plea rolls at this time, in particular those for Trinity 1482, Michaelmas 1484 (Fig. 12), Hilary 1485 and Hilary 1487 (Fig. 13), although they tend to lack both the confidence, and at the same time, the delicacy of our 'Master'.⁵⁰ That for Hilary Term 1487 is particularly noteworthy, with a portrait of a judge, presumably Chief Justice Hussey himself. Further examples which can be associated more confidently with the Esholt artist will be found in the charters granted to Canterbury in 1461 (Fig. 15), to Doncaster in 1467 (Fig. 16) and to Bristol (Fig. 18) and the College of Arms in 1484 (Fig. 17).⁵¹ Significantly the Doncaster and College of Arms grants, although separated by nearly a generation, are extraordinarily close in the execution of the decorative cadels above the top line. Either a set of standard patterns was in use or, as seems more likely, a single workshop was at work. This is borne out by the disappearance of this hand from the records after 1487. However, the style had become established and, in a debased form, was to be a commonplace feature of

⁴⁶ John Bromley, *The Armorial Bearings of the Gilds of London* (1960), plate 50; Cheetham p. 154, where this grant of arms is mistakenly described as a "founding charter"; M.F. Monier-Williams, *Records of the Worshipful Company of Tallow Chandlers London* (1897).

⁴⁷ Bromley plate 7.

⁴⁸ Lynda Dennison, Michael T. Orr and Kathleen L. Scott (eds.), *An Index of Images in English Manuscripts from the Time of Chaucer to Henry VIII, c.1380-c.1509, the Bodleian Library, Oxford III* (London and Turnhout 2002) p. 83, entry 1053 and fig. 9.

⁴⁹ Tudor-Craig p. 48.

⁵⁰ TNA KB27/883, 893, 894, 902; Tudor-Craig plates 20, 21 and 23, where the latter should be dated to Michaelmas 1484. See also Auerbach plate 2.

⁵¹ Canterbury Cathedral Archives: Canterbury City Archives CC/AA 34. Doncaster Archives Department AB1/1/4, discussed and reproduced in E. A. Danbury, 'The Decoration of the Doncaster Borough Charters' in *Doncaster: A Borough and Its Charters* (Doncaster Metropolitan Borough Council 1994), pp. 26-46 and plate 3. Bristol Record Office 01226, described in H.A. Cronne (ed.), *Bristol Charters 1378-1499*, Bristol Record Society vol. 11, (Bristol 1946) p. 153 and illustrated in part in Charles Ross, *The Wars of the Roses* (1976) p. 148. BL Cotton MS. Faustina E1, ff.30^v-31^r, reproduced in Cheetham pp. 134-135. It is interesting to note, in the present context, that Sir Hilary Jenkinson considered that the Doncaster decoration had been executed locally, although he did acknowledge its unusual delicacy (British Records Association, *Borough Charters: catalogue of an Exhibition at the County Hall, Westminster Bridge* (1959) pp. 22-23).

title deeds, memorandum books, surveys, accounts and court rolls over the following two centuries.

Alongside this penwork, however, was an entirely different style applied to some other royal grants at this time. For example, that obtained by Gloucester in 1483 has a painted, polychrome border and initials incorporating a design of oak leaves, ferns and three-petalled flowers with the arms of Richard III placed independently in the border alongside the initial 'R' (Fig. 19).⁵² Early in 1484 the Company of Wax Chandlers of London obtained a charter with sumptuously decorated coloured borders showing flowers, foliage, bees and a peacock and incorporating the royal arms in the initial 'R', complete with two supporting boars rampant, tusked and hooved or, and Richard's motto, 'Loyaulte me lie' on the scroll above the crown (Fig. 20).⁵³ Neither of these charters employs the strapwork and calligraphic flourishes which had become commonplace elements in such documents since early in the century, but they adopt instead the illuminated style of border associated with books of hours and other literary manuscripts. These two styles can be seen in combination in Henry VII's charter to Bristol of 1499, where the strapwork initials are decorated with grotesque faces and heraldic beasts, the initial 'H' contains a portrait of the king and selected initials in the body of the document are picked out with foliage decoration. The whole heading is resplendent with colour and gold leaf in a way which was to become fashionable throughout the sixteenth century.⁵⁴

The Esholt charter, therefore, adopts a closely defined style of penmanship characteristic of the Chancery and common law courts of the later fifteenth century. It has been further enhanced by the addition of heraldic devices and figurative drawing which bring it into close relation with that handful of work attributed to the Caxton Master. These elements are the arched imperial crown, supported by two lions sejant gardant, a scroll with the space for a motto left blank, the group of nuns before the prie-dieu and the Virgin and Child within the loop of the initial 'R' (Fig. 2). By no means all are equally successful. The nuns are crowded in against the left hand margin, without actually touching it, their heads bobbing, in Kathleen Scott's phrase, like "balloons on a string",⁵⁵ and the drawing of hands and faces is not distinctive. The lions with their long tails turned between their legs and poised in the air, complacent smiles upon their bearded faces, recall domestic cats rather than the powerful beasts of heraldry. The crown, however, with its carefully shaded drawing suggests a different hand, one which was also probably responsible for the Virgin and Child. This is draughtsmanship of the highest order which, like the portrait of the Chief Justice on the plea roll for Hilary 1487 (Fig. 13), can be placed alongside the best examples of English line drawing in this period. The draperies are particularly distinctive, the dense folds drawn with an easy flowing line, subtly shaded and strongly three dimensional in effect. This work is characteristic of the

⁵² Gloucester City Museum; the shield of arms is also illustrated in J. Petre (ed.), *Richard III: crown and people* (1985) plate 11.

⁵³ The original is held at the Wax Chandlers' Hall, but a facsimile is Guildhall Library MS 9517A; John Dummelow, *The Wax Chandlers of London* (1973) pp. 18-20 and plate opp. p. 14; Tudor-Craig p. 22; the top part and initial of this charter are also illustrated in Kathleen L. Scott, *Dated and Datable English Manuscript Borders c. 1395-1499* (2002) pp. 102-104.

⁵⁴ Bristol Record Office 01230, described in Cronne pp. 163-188. Part of the top line is illustrated in Scott, *Later Gothic MSS*, vol. 1, fig. 29.

⁵⁵ *Caxton Master* p. 58.

Caxton Master. Kathleen Scott has observed that he was not a particularly accomplished animal artist, nor was he good at groups of figures and therefore we may accept that both nuns and lions are also his work. The graceful scroll, too, is characteristic. However, it does appear that more than one artist was engaged. It seems likely that the figure of the Virgin was completed before the strapwork of the initial 'R' was drawn. The figure is centrally placed within the vertical guidelines drawn before the document was written, but appears left of centre within the 'R', the draperies hanging from the Virgin's right arm brushing against the ascending line of the initial. If the strapwork had been there first, the artist would almost certainly have placed the figure more centrally to the initial rather than to the whole space available for embellishment. If the crown and lions were also drawn first, that would explain the depression at the top of the ascender and general flattening of the upper curve. In other words, the existence of the drawings slightly cramped the style of the calligrapher, who was responsible only for the initial letters and who came to the task later, after the figurative work had been completed. Nonetheless, although the Caxton Master may not have been responsible for it all, it is reasonable to assume that this decoration was produced in his workshop and, significantly perhaps, as we shall see, both the Esholt charter and the Beauchamp Pageants were left slightly unfinished with empty scrolls and shields of arms.⁵⁶

It is probably no coincidence that both should show evidence of the same hand. There would have been close ties between Margaret Clifford and Anne Beauchamp, to whom the commissioning of the Pageants has been attributed. She was the widow of Richard Neville, known as "the kingmaker", and the daughter of the subject of the Pageants, Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick. In about 1484 Neville's illegitimate daughter was married to Margaret's stepson, Lancelot Threlkeld the younger, but they must have known each other long before. Both were widows of leading enemies of the House of York living in seclusion in Yorkshire, Margaret at Londesborough, Anne at Sheriff Hutton and Middleham, where she enjoyed the protection of Richard III after the confiscation of the Neville estates in 1471. She had been a foster mother to him after the death of his father in 1460 and subsequently became his mother-in-law after his marriage to her daughter. No doubt both ladies visited York, where Margaret and her first husband were members of the fashionable Corpus Christi Guild, and also London where they would have been aware of the high culture of court circles, most particularly that associated with a number of

⁵⁶ For detailed examinations of the Caxton Master's style see Scott, *Caxton Master* pp. 26-30, 42-45, 56-60 and *Mirrore* pp. 19-23. Dr Scott suggests that the drawings and decorations in *The Mirrore* were executed from the centre outwards (*Mirrore* p. 54). In her edition of *The Beauchamp Pageant*, Dr Sinclair suggests that the illuminator of the Esholt charter also worked on the *Pageant* and the drawing in Writhe's *Garter Book*, but doubts whether he was also the artist of the Caxton *Ovid* or of the *Mirrore of the Worlde*. I am most grateful to Dr Sinclair for discussing this matter with me. She believes that we are dealing here with an artist of established reputation who is nearing the end of his career and whose work could reflect a close personal relationship with his client (Sinclair p. 6).

senior clergy of Yorkshire origin.⁵⁷ First amongst these would have been Anne's brother-in-law, George Neville, Archbishop of York. He was a classical scholar and a student of the new learning.⁵⁸ Although he died in 1475, some of his associates lived on for another generation. One of these was John Shirwood. He was probably a native of York and served as Archdeacon of Richmond, Prebendary of Masham, Bishop of Durham and King's Chaplain, and represented the English church in Rome for the last twenty years of his life.⁵⁹ Robert Stillington, Bishop of Bath and Wells, whose decorated register has been described above, came from Acaster Selby, just a few miles south of York. He had himself been a protégé of Thomas Becket, his predecessor at Bath and Wells and the recipient of Chaundler's illustrated *Liber Apologeticus*.⁶⁰ Chaundler himself was Chancellor of York Minster 1467-86.⁶¹ Thomas Barowe, the Master of the Rolls after 1483, had enjoyed the patronage of George Neville and had carried out administrative work at Middleham for Richard III as Duke of Gloucester. He was also a canon of York Minster. There can be no doubt that he would have known Anne Beauchamp and therefore possibly also Margaret Clifford and would have been in a position to advise her on the manner of decorating the charter.⁶² Finally there was Thomas Rotherham, Stillington's successor as Lord Chancellor and Archbishop of York 1480-1500. As a fellow of King's College Cambridge in 1446 and subsequently college bursar and vice-provost, he would have been familiar with the college charter of 1446 which, like that of Eton, was decorated by William Abel (Fig.4). He has also been associated with the illumination of the late fifteenth-century Guild Register of Luton, where he was lord of the manor. He would have been well aware of the possibilities of decoration of purely administrative documents and may have encouraged it wherever he had influence. In Yorkshire, as a native of Rotherham itself, he may have known Maud Clifford of Conisbrough Castle. She was Countess of Cambridge, step-mother of Richard Duke of York and aunt and god-mother of Margaret's first husband, John Lord Clifford,

⁵⁷ Cunningham p. 8; W. Jackson, 'The Threlkelds of Threlkeld, Yanwath and Crosby Ravensworth', *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian & Archaeological Society*, O.S. vol. 9 (Kendal 1888) pp. 298-317 (pedigree and pp. 311-312); Jackson's source is not clear, but Margaret Neville's paternity and first marriage are confirmed by Michael Hicks, *Warwick the Kingmaker* (Oxford 1998) p. 234; Sinclair pp. 16-21; R.H. Skaife (ed.), *The Register of the Guild of Corpus Christi in the City of York*, Surtees Society vol. 57 (1871-1872), p. 61; Jennifer C. Ward, *English Noblewomen in the Later Middle Ages* (London and New York 1992) p.84. Anne F. Sutton and Livia Visser-Fuchs, *Richard III's Books. Ideas and Reality in the Life and Library of a Medieval Prince* (Stroud 1997), pp. 243, 258-264. However, Anne's connections with Richard did not prevent the confiscation of her rights of inheritance and dower by act of Parliament in 1475 (Cunningham pp. 19-20).

⁵⁸ Sinclair 14; Martin Lowry, 'John Rous and the survival of the Neville Circle', *Viator* vol.19 (Berkeley and London 1988), pp. 327-338; Jonathan Hughes, *The Religious Life of Richard III: Piety and Prayer in the North of England* (Stroud 1997) p. 73.

⁵⁹ P. S. Allen, 'Bishop Shirwood of Durham and his Library', *English Historical Review* 25 (1910), pp. 445-456; A.J. Pollard, 'John Shirwood', *ODNB*.

⁶⁰ Maxwell-Lyte, *The Registers of Robert Stillington*, pp. viii-ix; n. 25 above; Michael Hicks, 'Robert Stillington', *ODNB*.

⁶¹ Jeremy Catto, 'Thomas Chaundler', *ODNB*.

⁶² See n. 42 above.

who was actually born at Conisbrough.⁶³ Such men as these were closely involved in the Yorkist court, with its humanistic, North European cultural connections and links to a network of artistic patronage of which both the *Pageants* and the Esholt charter were products. This circle has been dubbed 'the Beauchamp Affinity'.⁶⁴

However, this charter is not only outstanding for the quality of its decoration. It is also remarkable for its iconography.⁶⁵ Superficially there is nothing unusual in the representation of the Virgin and Child or the group of adoring nuns. Esholt was dedicated to the Virgin and St Leonard. The former, as patroness of the Cistercian Order as a whole, may have been included originally for largely formal reasons. However, the cult of the Virgin, which had been growing throughout the middle ages, was now at its height. It coincided with, and may even have been stimulated by, the involvement of lay people and, particularly, aristocratic women as patrons of art and artists. Visually it is marked by the surviving alabaster and other images from parish churches and other sources and, in the field of illuminated manuscripts, by the images in books of hours. The latter were personal items which could be kept close to hand or easily circulated amongst friends and relatives. It has also been noted, using the evidence of seals, that the standing Virgin and Child was an image particularly associated with nunneries, where they preferred the notion of passive motherhood to that of enthroned splendour. The idea was enhanced by the association of St Leonard in the Esholt dedication, patron not only of prisoners, but also of pregnant women. Elizabeth Danbury has argued that donors, in associating the saints, the Trinity and the Virgin with their benefactions, were engaging the powers of heaven in their largesse.⁶⁶ In whatever form, representations of the Virgin reflected courtly notions of the ideal woman with a high forehead, a well proportioned nose, small lips slightly pouting, a long neck, small, high breasts, a narrow waist and long arms and fingers. Long flowing hair was regarded as a symbol of virginity, the significance of which would not be lost on the female community of Esholt. Here she stands before them as their role model, the virgin mother, a symbol of the family unit to which they could not aspire, yet an inspiration to the prioress and eight

⁶³ H. L. Bennett, *Archbishop Rotherham* (Lincoln 1901) pp. 10, 18; Rosemary Horrox, 'Thomas Rotherham', *ODNB*; R.B. Dobson, 'The Educational Patronage of Archbishop Thomas Rotherham of York', *Northern History* vol. 31 (Leeds 1995) pp. 65-85; Jonathan Hughes, *Religious Life of Richard III*, pp. 69-71; Richard Marks, 'Two Illuminated Guild Registers from Bedfordshire' in Michelle P. Brown and Scot McKendrick (eds), *Illuminating the Book: Makers and Interpreters: Essays in Honour of Janet Backhouse*, British Library Studies in Medieval Culture, (London and Toronto 1998) pp. 121-141 (pp. 130, 134); Henry Summerson, 'John Clifford', *ODNB*. The Eton and King's charters are discussed below.

⁶⁴ Lowry, 'John Rous', p. 331. The term as used by Lowry should not be confused with the social and political organisation described by C. Carpenter, 'The Beauchamp affinity: a study of bastard feudalism at work', *English Historical Review* vol. 95 (1980) pp. 514-532.

⁶⁵ I am indebted to Elizabeth Danbury for drawing my attention to this aspect of the decoration.

⁶⁶ Richard Marks, *Image and Devotion in Late Medieval England*, (Stroud 2004) pp. 121-123 and *passim*; Roberta Gilchrist, *Gender and Material Culture: the archaeology of religious women* (London and New York 1994) pp. 146-149, and also "'Blessed Art Thou Amongst Women": The Archaeology of Female Piety', in *Woman is a Worthy Wight: Women in English Society c.1200-1500*, ed. P.J.P. Goldberg (Stroud 1992) p.223; D.H. Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints* (Oxford 1978); Danbury, 'English and French Artistic Propaganda...' p. 94.

nuns of the house. For us it is a window onto the spiritual life of the community.⁶⁷

To some extent the image of petitioners seeking a grant in their favour from the Crown had become a commonplace of fifteenth century charter decoration, as on those in favour of the Leathersellers of London in 1444 and of Eton and King's College, Cambridge in 1446. Although differing in detail and execution from that of Esholt, all involve similar elements in their composition, with the king within the initial 'H', and the supplicant groups of petitioners to the left. Those for Eton (Fig. 4) and King's are almost identical and show the monarch kneeling before the crowned Virgin and the Trinity, together with angels, shields displaying the arms of Edward the Confessor and of England quartered with those of France, and surmounted by the closed imperial crown. The King's charter also shows St Nicholas interceding for the College as its patron. These two, and possibly all three charters were products of the workshop of William Abell, and all are a development of the depiction of donors so often shown in religious art of the period.⁶⁸ This compositional feature was still in use over half a century later when it appeared on the foundation charter of King Henry VII's Chapel at Westminster in 1504 (Fig. 22).⁶⁹ On this Esholt document, however, we see no token petitioners, as in the earlier examples, but the whole monastic community, the prioress and eight nuns, in prayer before their icon of feminine virtue and the patroness of their Order. In this respect perhaps the artist makes a virtue of the offset position of the image, so that the Virgin appears to approach and meet her supplicants.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ Henrietta Leyser, *Medieval Women. A Social History of Women in England 450-1500* (1996) p. 240; Ward, *English Noblewomen*, p. 83; Peter Coss, *The Lady in Medieval England 1000-1500* (Stroud 1998) pp. 73-74; Loveday Lewes Gee, *Women, Art and Patronage From Henry III to Edward III 1216-1377* (Woodbridge 2002) pp. 4, 53, 125. Jeffrey F. Hamburger, in discussing the importance of images as part of female spirituality, has shown how the enclosure of their community enhanced the vision of nuns and gave added vitality to the images before them (*The Visual and the Visionary, Art and Female Spirituality in Late Medieval Germany*, New York 1998, pp. 37, 108).

⁶⁸ The Worshipful Company of Leathersellers, London, MS1, reproduced in *Gothic: Art for England 1400-1547*, exhibition catalogue ed. Richard Marks and Paul Williamson, Victoria and Albert Museum, London (2003) p. 270. That of King's (King's College Cambridge Archives KC/18) is partially reproduced in Ross, *Wars of the Roses* p. 24, in J. Alexander 'William Abell "lymnour" and 15th century English illumination', *Kunsthistorische Forschungen Otto Pacht zu seinem 70 Geburtstag*, ed. A. Rosenauer and Gerold Weber (Salzburg 1972) p. 171 plate 2, in *Gothic* p. 162 and in *The Cambridge Illuminations: Ten Centuries of Book Production in the Medieval West*, catalogue of an exhibition at the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge and at Cambridge University Library, ed. Paul Binski and Stella Panayotova, (London and Turnhout 2005) p. 380. That of Eton (Eton College Archives ECR 39/57) is Figure 4 here and also appears in H. Maxwell-Lyte, *History of Eton College* (1899) opp. p. 54. Kathleen Scott notes that these charters are the first to show the king and petitioners in this way, 'The Illustration and Decoration of the Register of the Fraternity of the Holy Trinity at Luton Church, 1475-1546' in A. S. G. Edwards, Vincent Gillespie and Ralph Hanna (eds.) *The English Medieval Book. Studies in Memory of Jeremy Griffiths* (2000) pp. 155-183 (p. 167).

⁶⁹ TNA E33/1/1-4. A counterpart is BL Harl. MS 1498, described in J.P. Neale and E.W. Brayley, *The History and Antiquities of the Abbey Church of St Peter Westminster*, vol. 1 (1818), 'King Henry the Seventh's Chapel', pp. 11-12. The illuminated initials of both versions are very similar, but not identical.

⁷⁰ Cf. Marks, *Image and Devotion* p. 181. Kathleen Scott mentions in correspondence 'the charming contraposto posture of the Child' as he turns his head towards the nuns.

Esholt was not, of course, a royal foundation, and so we do not expect to find a full representation of the royal arms or a portrait of the monarch. The crown and the lion supporters alone appear to stand for the king, although neither of these elements are linked specifically to Richard III. Lions or leopards had long been symbols associated with the monarchy and Edward III's seals had shown the image of the king flanked by lions sejant gardant with long curly tails. The white lion of March was an emblem associated with the house of York, particularly under Edward IV, and was usually shown sejant with the tail curled between its legs, but only rarely sejant gardant as here.⁷¹ However, the lion was not usually associated with Richard who, as Duke of Gloucester, adopted the boar as his badge. His seal as Lord of Glamorgan has boars as supporters, they appear again in the manuscript of *De Re Militari* which was illuminated for him as king (Fig. 21), and on the charter granted to the Wax Chandlers in 1484, where they are fully caparisoned as two boars rampant, tusked and hooved or (Fig. 20). On both these manuscripts the original white pigment of the boars has oxidized to black. On the Gloucester charter of 2 September 1483 a shield showing the usual lions of England quartered with the fleur de lys of France surmounted by a crown is superimposed on a sunburst and supported by a lion and a boar, both sejant (Fig. 19). Boars also appeared on the coinage, even during Richard's brief spell as Protector of the boy king Edward V, and no less than 13,000 badges of the white boar in painted fustian were supplied by the Great Wardrobe for the investiture of Richard's son as Prince of Wales in August 1483.⁷² Therefore its absence from the Esholt charter is unusual. There is also the scroll to the left of the initial 'R' above the head of the prioress which was obviously intended to contain either a prayer or a royal motto. If the former there seems no reason why it should not have been completed; if the latter we may be justified in seeking an explanation.

It is possible that the decoration was left uncompleted for some practical reason such as cost, the death or incapacity of the artist or because it was realised at this

⁷¹ Caroline Shenton, 'Edward III and the Symbol of the Leopard' in Peter Coss and Maurice Keen (eds), *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display in Medieval England* (Woodbridge 2002), pp. 69-81 (pp. 74-75). Examples of the lion sejant may be found on the Doncaster charter of 1467 (n. 51 above) (Fig. 16) and on a glass quarry now in the Burrell Collection, Glasgow (Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum, *Stained and painted heraldic glass, Burrell Collection: British and selected foreign armorial panels* (Glasgow 1962) no. 205 and p. 48 plate). The present setting of the latter alongside a crowned 'R' is not significant; before its acquisition by Burrell it was a loose item, see Burlington Fine Art Club, *Catalogue of a collection of objects of British heraldic art* (1916) p. 120 no. 11 and plate xxvi. In the North Hall at Sudeley Castle, Gloucestershire, is a window showing the arms of Edward IV where one of the supporters is a white lion sejant gardant. However, the history of this glass is obscure and it is unlikely to be original to the building.

⁷² Tudor-Craig pp. 15, 22, 24-25, 37-38, 56, 57 and plates 10, 60; A.F. Sutton and Livia Visser-Fuchs, 'Vegetius' *De Re Militari* in *The Ricardian* vol. 7, no. 99 (Dec 1987), pp. 541-552; A.F. Sutton and P.W. Hammond (eds.), *The Coronation of Richard III: the Extant Documents* (Gloucester and New York 1983) p. 174. For the Wax Chandlers' charter see also n. 53 above.

early stage that the benefaction might not be effective.⁷³ However, it must be acknowledged that unfilled scrolls are not unusual in manuscripts of this period. For example, the King's College Cambridge charter of 1446 has an empty scroll above the head of St Nicholas.⁷⁴ Dr Sinclair suggests that the reason for leaving a number of banners and shields of arms unfilled in *The Beauchamp Pageants* may be the death in 1484 of Anne Beauchamp's grandson, the child of Richard III and Anne Neville. But similar incompleteness here implies another reason. If we accept that the *Pageants* and the Esholt charter are products of the same workshop or group of artists, and if we also accept that Margaret Clifford's choice of artist and subject matter were of personal significance to her, even that she and Anne Beauchamp may have been commissioning the same artist at much the same time, then dynastic considerations may also have played their part. Adrian Ailes has shown how the propaganda initiatives of the Yorkist kings entered a new phase under Richard III. It was a time when the details of heraldry indicated authority, even political intent, and could be used to blacken opponents.⁷⁵ Therefore the significance of the missing personal and heraldic symbols here should not be underestimated. They were the indispensable badges of party and office and an essential component of the regalia associated with the king's authority and influence. They were not only confined to such historical and heraldic compositions as the Rous Roll, nor to formal documents and seals, where they are most familiar to us today, nor only to the coinage, but they also appeared as articles of dress such as cap badges and pendent jewels. They were so commonplace that their absence cannot pass without comment. Pamela Tudor-Craig has observed that one of the wall paintings in Eton College Chapel, which were completed in 1487, contains an element of anti-Yorkist propaganda. It is a scene from the miracles of the Virgin showing the healing of the Emperor's brother, the villain of the story, who is represented wearing a pendant of the Yorkist rose en soleil (Fig. 10). The significance of such a symbol at a royal foundation early in the reign of Henry VII would not have been missed.⁷⁶ Like the Eton wall paintings, the decoration of the Esholt charter was almost certainly still in hand at the time of the battle of Bosworth. It was usual for such decoration to be added at the time of the grant, but the arrangements would have been the responsibility of the recipient, in this case Margaret Clifford, a lady of undoubted Lancastrian sympathies.⁷⁷ The date of the charter, 1 June 1485, is probably that on

⁷³ I am indebted to Professor David Smith for this suggestion. In *The Mirroure of the Worlde* only the first of the scrolls has been filled. All the others remain empty. Since the first owner and presumed commissioner of this book died early in 1485, it must have been completed somewhat earlier. The scrolls may have been left unfilled as a matter of economy (Scott *Mirroure* pp. 3, 4, 8 and plates III-IX). In correspondence Kathleen Scott suggests that such details could be overlooked when the decoration and text writing were in different hands. In *Tradition and Innovation*, p. 84, she points out the problems of instructing an artist who might be illiterate.

⁷⁴ Note 68 above.

⁷⁵ Sinclair pp. 21-23; Maurice Keen, 'Introduction', and Adrian Ailes, 'Heraldry in Medieval England: Symbols of Politics and Propaganda' in Coss and Keen, *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display*, pp. 2, 83, 85.

⁷⁶ Tudor-Craig p. 21. The scene is reproduced in James and Tristram plate 11. Anne Sutton points out in correspondence that the pendant also includes a crescent, an indication that the brother was an infidel. See also Miriam Gill 'The Wall Paintings in Eton College Chapel' p. 178.

⁷⁷ Danbury, 'Royal charters...' pp. 160-163.

which the writ authorising it was received in Chancery. There would have been some delay before it was engrossed and sealed and further delay if it had to be taken to the artist's workshop for decoration.⁷⁸

Henry Tudor's invasion had been anticipated for some time. The King left Westminster in early May and was at Nottingham on 9 June awaiting a landing.⁷⁹ It did not occur until 7 August and another 15 days passed before the parties met at Bosworth on 22 August. In such circumstances it may be that prudence determined the unfilled scroll on Margaret Clifford's charter. Nobody knew that the dynastic future of England would be settled so soon.

⁷⁸ For the procedures surrounding the issue of Chancery documents see Maxwell-Lyte, *Great Seal* pp. 243, 260-262. Elizabeth Danbury observes that mottoes particularly associated with the house of York were not used after 1485 ('Royal charters' p. 175).

⁷⁹ Cunningham, *Richard III*, p. 64.

THE DISSOLUTION OF THE MONASTERIES IN SIXTEENTH-CENTURY YORK

By Claire Cross

Between the summer 1536 and the end of 1539 the Tudor state suppressed all the monasteries in York which together housed around 145 monks, nuns and friars. After charting the mechanics of dissolution, this paper assesses how the dispossessed York religious fared in the secular world.

The institutional church pervaded every aspect of the public life of York in the high and late middle ages. In addition to the minster and some forty parish churches the city contained within or just outside its walls the most influential abbey in the north of England, two much smaller priories, a nunnery, four friaries, and a very large hospital. While the minster and a sizeable remnant of the parish churches have survived to the present day, all the religious houses disappeared in a little over three years between 1536 and 1539. After following the process of the dissolution, rather than addressing the destruction of the monastic buildings, on which a great deal has already been written, or attempting to follow the subsequent tangled history of their sites, this paper will concentrate upon the human consequences of the loss of their accustomed way of life for the last generation of monks, nuns and friars.

By the mid 1530s York ecclesiastics would have become uncomfortably aware of the central government's plans for radical religious change. Desperate to obtain a male heir, and having signally failed to gain consent from Rome for the annulment of his marriage to Katherine of Aragon, in 1532 Henry VIII forced the convocations of Canterbury and York to renounce their allegiance to the pope and acknowledge the king as the supreme head of the English Church. Even at this early stage a handful of the higher clergy refused to sanction royal policy, and in York John Pickering, the prior of the Dominicans and an outspoken supporter of the papacy, having protested in vain against the train of events, resigned his office to retire to the East Riding. On the opportune death of the elderly William Warham, later in 1532 the king appointed Thomas Cranmer archbishop of Canterbury, in January 1533 Cranmer secretly performed the wedding between Henry and Anne Boleyn and in the following May pronounced the Aragonese union null and void. Understandably apprehensive that these actions might cause the emperor, Charles V, to intervene on behalf of his aunt, the government urgently needed extra sources of revenue to defend the realm against invasion, and turned its attention to the wealth of the Church. In the recent past reforming, though entirely orthodox, clerics like John Alcock, bishop of Ely, and Thomas Wolsey, archbishop of York, had used the endowments of failing religious houses to found colleges at Oxford and Cambridge, and the king's chief minister, Thomas Cromwell, now employed this precedent to replenish the exchequer, and early in 1536 propelled a bill through Parliament for the dissolution of all monasteries with an annual income of £200 or less.¹

¹S. E. James, 'Pickering, John', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 44 (Oxford, 2004), pp. 210-12.

In 1535 Cromwell had overseen the production of the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, a financial survey of the entire possessions of the English church, from which St Mary's abbey with an annual revenue of some £1,650 emerged as by far the richest monastery in the entire county. The other Benedictine foundation in the city, Holy Trinity priory in Micklegate, could count on £169, St Andrew's Gilbertine priory in Fishergate on only slightly in excess of £47, and the one nunnery, Clementhorpe, on just over £55 a year. An annual income of around £309 put St Leonard's hospital in a quite different league. The four York friaries did not feature in the *Valor* since technically they owned no property at all.²

With incomes well below £200 Holy Trinity priory, St Andrew's priory and Clementhorpe nunnery came squarely within the remit of the 1536 Act for the dissolution of the lesser monasteries. At a recent visitation of Holy Trinity two government servants, Layton and Lee, had commented unfavourably on the sexual morality of the monks, and reported that two, Robert Parker and Brian Braye, sought release from their vows. In the event they had no need of special treatment since on 29 July 1536 the prior, William Speght alias Hudson, and his whole convent surrendered their priory to the crown. At this juncture, on the argument that any monks wanting to continue in the religious life might transfer to another foundation, the government only compensated the heads of houses. None of the Holy Trinity monks decided to move to another monastery, and early in October with the exception of the prior the entire community secured dispensations to take up livings in the secular church.³

Having completed their business at Holy Trinity the commissioners moved on to Clementhorpe priory. Although the Visitors in the previous year had failed to uncover any scandal, two of the Clementhorpe nuns, Cecilia Warde and Joanna Typping, had expressed a wish to abandon the cloister. They formally suppressed the priory on 31 August 1536, awarding the prioress, Isabel Warde, a pension of 10 marks (£6 13s. 4d.). None of her sisters seems to have opted to pursue a religious vocation in one of the many Benedictine nunneries elsewhere in the county. St Andrew's priory, the poorest and least significant of York's religious houses, obtained an exemption from closure in 1536 through the influence in high places of Robert Holgate, master of the Gilbertine order, and the prior of Watton.⁴

The somewhat arbitrary nature of the nationwide confiscations, the commissioners'

² *The Victoria History of the County of Yorkshire*, ed. W. Page, III (London, 1913), pp. 111, 336, 390 [hereafter *VCH*]; *Letters and Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII* ed. J. S. Brewer (London, 1862-1932), XIV, pt. I, no. 185, pt. II, nos. 603, 623 (hereafter *LP Hen. VIII*); *Faculty Office Registers, 1534-1549*, ed. D. S. Chambers (Oxford, 1966), p. 76; *Valor Ecclesiasticus* eds. J. Caley and J. Hunter (London, 1810-34), V, pp. 2, 126; The National Archives (formerly the Public Record Office) SC 6/Hen. VIII/4641 m. 14v. [hereafter TNA]; *Eighth Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records* (London, 1847), app. II, p. 51.

³ TNA SP1/102 f. 97v.; *Faculty Office Registers*, p. 76.

⁴ TNA SP1/102 f. 97r.; R. B. Dobson, and S. Donaghey, *The History of Clementhorpe Nunnery*, York Archaeological Trust (London, 1984), pp. 26-7; A. G. Dickens, *Robert Holgate, Archbishop of York and President of the Council in the North*, Borthwick Paper 8 (York, 1955), pp. 1-6.

bullying tactics and unsympathetic treatment of the religious caused mounting resentment throughout the country, which in the north of England resulted in outright rebellion in October 1536. Over the summer Lincolnshire had been subjected to no fewer than three official visitations, the first to confiscate the lesser monasteries, the second to make an assessment for a clerical subsidy, or tax, the third, and perhaps most provocative, to enquire into the academic and moral credentials of the local clergy. On 1 October unrest came to a head in Louth, where the townspeople had only two decades earlier finished building the magnificent spire of their parish church. Incensed that the state appeared to be about to appropriate his church's treasures the vicar of Louth, Thomas Kendall, led the armed resistance. The dispossessed monks from the recently dissolved Louth Park priory joined the fray, and the conflagration spread rapidly throughout the county. On 4 October the commons murdered the bishop's chancellor at Horncastle, and on that very day Robert Aske, the younger son of a minor gentry family of Aughton near Selby, travelling through Lincolnshire on his way to the new law term in London, fell into the rebels' hands. Having gained his freedom after swearing their oath, he then briefly went back to Aughton, before setting out again for Lincoln on 7 October to discover how the king had reacted to the commons' demands. In his absence the townspeople of Beverley threw in their lot with the rebels, and on 10 October Aske assumed command of the rising in Yorkshire, which from this time he began calling the Pilgrimage of Grace.⁵

Over the next five days Aske assembled an army of perhaps 10,000 men - contemporaries inflated the number to 20,000 - and then marched north to York, reaching the city on Sunday 15 October. From outside the gates he sent a message to the corporation requesting free passage and promising that his forces would pay for everything they took. The next day the mayor received a copy of the pilgrims' articles which deplored the suppression of the religious houses and sought the removal of the king's evil councillors responsible for betraying the Catholic faith. Aske entered the city in the afternoon, and at the head of a great band of horsemen rode to the minster about the time of evensong. There the minster clergy in full vestments welcomed the pilgrims and led Aske to the high altar to make his offering. As he left he gave order that the dissolved monasteries should be restored, and the commons enthusiastically complied, returning the monks to Holy Trinity, Micklegate and the nuns to Clementhorpe.⁶

During his two days in York, before he moved south on 19 October to besiege Pontefract Castle, Aske stayed in Sir George Lawson's house, where he supped with the prior of the Austin Friars, John Aske, who may very well have been a kinsman. Subsequently the prior was accused of favouring the rebels, but this charge could have been levied against the city's

⁵M. H. Dodds and R. Dodds, *The Pilgrimage of Grace and the Exeter Conspiracy*, 2 vols. (London, 1915), repr. (1971), pp. 91-101; *The First Churchwardens' Book of Louth 1500-1524*, ed. R. C. Dudding (Oxford, 1941).

⁶Dodds, *Pilgrimage of Grace*, pp. 168-180; D. M. Palliser, *The Reformation in York, 1534-1553*, Borthwick Paper 40 (York, 1971), pp. 7-11.

entire ecclesiastical establishment. The abbot of St Mary's, allegedly against his will, had processed behind the abbey's cross on the pilgrims' march through the city, and contributed twenty nobles to their commander, Sir Thomas Percy. The minster's treasurer, Lancelot Collins, the most senior member of the chapter in the absence of the dean, as he later claimed in the face of threats from the commons, had found it politic to remove Cromwell's arms from over the door of his house in the close. He, too, had entertained Aske to dinner and rewarded his captains.⁷

The most unequivocal support for the revolt came from the former prior of the York Dominicans, Dr John Pickering, who a little before the rising had gone to stay with the prior of the Augustinian priory in his home town of Bridlington. Pickering took a very active part in the rebellion. At the council held at Pontefract a month after the castle had fallen to Aske he reiterated his opinion that the king might not be the supreme head of the church in England, maintaining that such supremacy belonged to the pope alone. Back in Bridlington when Sir Francis Bigod rekindled the rising in January 1537, Pickering wrote a long Latinate poem, 'O Faithful People of the Boreal Region', which the commons adopted as their marching song.

This cruel Hamon [Cromwell] by his false invention
In the north doth [de]ceive the faithful common[al]ty
By his great expenses intending utterly
Us to destroy and bring in captivity...
No fair words we shall trust after my opinion
But boldly go forward in our peregrination.

All was to no avail and Bigod failed ignominiously. After the capture of the chief insurgents the king ordered Pickering, their propagandist, to be brought to trial in London where together with William Wood, the prior of Bridlington, he was found guilty of high treason and put to death at Tyburn on 25 May 1537. A little over a month later, after he, too, had been condemned to death for treason, Robert Aske was sent back to York, 'where he was in his greatest and most frantic glory', to be executed at Clifford's Tower on 12 July 1537.⁸

The Pilgrimage of Grace left York in a very exposed position, with the corporation frantically attempting to regain the king's favour. Henry threatened to come north several times, but then changed his mind, and in fact carried out his much postponed visitation only in the autumn of 1541. Met at Fulford Cross by the archbishop, the mayor and aldermen and local gentlemen with halters round their necks pleading on their knees for forgiveness for their 'most odious offence of traitorous rebellion', the king expressed his readiness for a reconciliation, and graciously accepted a cup filled with £140 in gold pieces as a token of their repentance.⁹

In the immediate aftermath of the rebellion, incensed by the behaviour of the clergy, and heedless of the consequences, the king demanded the eradication of

⁷ *LP Hen. VIII*, XII, pt. I nos. 306 (p.138), 393 (p. 195); Dodds, *Pilgrimage of Grace*, pp. 180-3.

⁸ *LP Hen. VIII*, XII, pt. I no. 1021; Dodds, *Pilgrimage of Grace*, pp. 280-1.

⁹ *York Civic Records*, IV, ed. A. Raine, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series CVIII (1943), pp. 68-70.

monasticism root and branch. To achieve this end without causing further unrest Cromwell now attempted to induce the remaining monasteries to disband voluntarily by offering pensions to entire communities and not as in the past solely to the heads of houses. Having won a stay of execution in the summer of 1536, St Andrew's in Fishergate became the first of the York priories to benefit from this new dispensation. With revenues of just over £47 a year it had never been able to maintain more than a very small community, and was surrendered by a mere four canons on 28 November 1538. With general instructions to award pensions proportionate to a house's annual income, so the richer the monastery the higher the pensions, the commissioners granted the prior of St Andrew's £10 a year and £4 to each of his three brethren.¹⁰

In the same month Richard Yngworth, suffragan bishop of Dover, and a one time friar, arrived in York to oversee the dissolution of the four friaries. On 27 November he completed the formalities for the surrender of the Blackfriars on Toft Green, the Greyfriars by the castle and the Whitefriars behind Fossgate, and expelled the Austin friars from Lendal the following day. With a convent of twenty-one, the Franciscans were by some way the largest friary in the city; the Austin, Carmelite and Dominican priories contained fourteen, thirteen and eleven friars respectively. As mendicants the friars did not qualify for pensions.¹¹

After dealing with St Andrew's, the commissioners turned next to Holy Trinity, Micklegate, restored by the commons during the Pilgrimage of Grace, and on 11 December 1538 required the prior, Richard Speght, and the remnant of his convent to surrender their house for the second time. They allowed the prior to retain his pension of £22 but, since the priory had originally been dissolved under the 1536 Act, made no provision for the rest of the community.¹²

The government then held its hand for a year before tackling York's two richest and most powerful religious houses, St Mary's abbey and St Leonard's hospital. After the Pilgrimage, William Dente, the abbot of St Mary's, had astutely made Thomas Cromwell the monastery's chief steward and had taken pains to impress upon him how, by going out of the cloister to deliver sermons in parish churches, his monks were complying with the recent laws in regard to religion. In mid November 1539 he made a last attempt to demonstrate the abbey's continuing usefulness to the state, sending the prior and one of the most scholarly of the monks, Dr Elmer, to the vicegerent with a plan 'to change their habit if it might better stand with the king's pleasure.' All hopes of converting the abbey into a school or some other institution of higher learning came to nothing, and on 29 November St Mary's succumbed. With such monastic riches at their disposal the commissioners could well afford to grant the abbot the very substantial pension of 400 marks (£266 13s. 4d.) and his large community of fifty monks more moderate sums of between 20 marks (£13 6s. 8d.) and £5 a year.¹³

¹⁰ *LP Hen. VIII*, XIV, pt. I, no. 185.

¹¹ *Eighth Report of the Deputy Keeper*, app. II, p. 51.

¹² *Faculty Office Registers*, p. 76.

¹³ *LP Hen. VIII*, XII, pt. II, nos. 1184; XIV, pt. II, nos. 522, 603.

St Leonard's had suffered long periods of financial mismanagement in the later middle ages and by the sixteenth century seems to have been caring for the sick largely on an out-patients basis. This may partly account for the city's failure to mount a campaign to save its hospital. A scheme to 'alter' the institution also ran into the sands, and the aged, pluralist master, Thomas Magnus, surrendered his house to the Crown on 1 December 1539. In lieu of a pension Magnus received his dwelling at the hospital, Benningbrough grange, with the piscatory of Newton, valued at an annual £26 13s. 4d., together with cash and goods amounting to over £100. The eight canons obtained pensions of between £6 13s. 4d. and £5, and the four sisters of £4 6s. 8d. The confiscation of St Leonard's brought medieval monasticism in York to an end.¹⁴

The closure of these houses resulted in the expulsion of one hundred and forty-five religious, seventy-four monks and canons, fifty-nine friars and twelve nuns and sisters. Despite its ruthless and devious reputation, the Tudor state in practice generally honoured its financial obligations, and four former monks, three from St Mary's abbey, and one from St Leonard's hospital, were still being paid their pensions in 1582, while one St Mary's monk seems to have been drawing his pension as late as 1596, almost half a century after the dissolution. The records of the central government together with more personal records, in most cases wills, make it possible to trace how a sizeable proportion of this last generation of York religious fared in the secular world.¹⁵

From the economic standpoint at least, with good - in some cases lavish - pensions, the former heads of houses adjusted most easily to their changed circumstances. Already an elderly man when he lost his house, having been ordained priest from St Mary's abbey in 1510 and elected abbot two decades later, William Thornton alias Dente retired to the North Riding to live the life of a prosperous country landowner. In 1541 he took out a lease of the manor of Myton, once part of the abbey's possessions, which he subsequently bought outright and later bequeathed to his sister. In the early summer of 1546 he could afford to lend the crown 200 marks (£133 6s. 8d.). He died at Myton on 15 June 1546.¹⁶

In contrast Thomas Magnus, the last master of St Leonard's hospital, though considerably older than Dente, continued to participate actively in the public sphere. Born at Newark on Trent some time in the 1460s and educated on the continent, Magnus, a quite spectacular pluralist, had acquired several rectories before the turn of the century, which in succeeding decades he supplemented with prebends in York and Beverley minsters, Lincoln cathedral and St George's chapel, Windsor. Appointed a royal chaplain soon after the accession of

¹⁴*LP Hen. VIII*, XIV, pt. II, no. 623.

¹⁵*VCH Yorkshire*, III, pp. 111, 336, 390; *LP Hen. VIII*, XIV, pt. I, no. 185, pt. II, nos. 603, 623; *Faculty Office Registers*, p. 76; *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, V, pp. 2, 126; TNA SC 6/Hen. VIII/4641 m. 14v; LR6/122/9; *Eighth Report of the Deputy Keeper*, app. II, p. 51; Borthwick Institute, York HC AB 12 f. 316r.

¹⁶Borthwick Institute Sede Vac. Reg.5A f. 631r.; *LP Hen. VIII*, XVII, p. 697; XX, pt. II, g. 707 (27); XX1, pt. I no. 1084; pt. II, g. 771 (18,37); *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Edward VI*, I (London, 1924) p. 221.

Henry VIII, he acted as Wolsey's receiver in the north of England, and as an official in the court of wards. He secured the mastership of St Leonard's in 1528, relatively late in his lucrative career, before becoming in the 1530s a member of the newly re-constituted Council in the North. He amassed yet further benefices after the dissolution, obtaining the rectory of Bedale in 1546, in which year he was in a position to make the Crown a loan of £500. In their survey of St Sepulchre's chapel in York minster in 1548 the chantry commissioners reported that Magnus, then aged eighty-six, had accumulated a total annual income of £615 13s. 4d. In his will, after remembering with black gowns and cash the many clergy who had acted as his deputies, he consigned the residue of his very considerable estate to be spent in charitable acts for the welfare of his soul. He died on 8 March 1550.¹⁷

As the master of the Gilbertine order to which St Andrew's priory belonged, and much more importantly as a major York benefactor, Robert Holgate deserves inclusion in this trio of highly influential heads of houses. A member of a lesser gentry family from Hemsworth, Holgate apparently joined the Gilbertines at Cambridge, where he proceeded to the degree of bachelor of divinity in 1524, and came into contact with the 'new learning'. On Cromwell's intervention, his brethren somewhat reluctantly elected him both master of the order and prior of Watton before the outbreak of the Pilgrimage of Grace. Throughout the rebellion he sided with the government, in its aftermath being rewarded with the bishopric of Llandaff and the presidency of the Council in the North. In 1539 he superintended the surrender of all the Gilbertine houses, and in the following year obtained in lieu of a pension a grant for life of the site of Watton priory, its 'head house' in London and various Yorkshire manors. To economise on his salary as president of the Council in the North, on the death of Edward Lee in 1545 the Crown promoted him to the archbishopric of York. Perhaps as a thank offering, in 1546 Holgate founded no fewer than three grammar schools at Hemsworth, Malton and York. As archbishop he assiduously promulgated all the protestant changes of the Edwardian period but his compliance in the one reign caused his downfall in the next and, after Mary's accession, he was imprisoned and deprived of his see. Having repudiated his protestant beliefs and reconverted to Catholicism, he eventually gained his freedom, but only after paying a huge fine and making an abject apology to the queen. Still a man of very considerable wealth, he endowed an almshouse at Hemsworth a little before his death in November 1555.¹⁸

The heads of York's two minor religious houses, Holy Trinity, Micklegate, and St Andrew's, Fishergate, never achieved such glittering prizes. Since at the time of her death in 1532 his mother, Margaret Speght, the widow of Henry Speght, was living in Micklegate, Thomas Speght alias Hudson, the last prior of Holy Trinity, may well

¹⁷ *York Clergy Wills 1520-1600; I. The Minster Clergy*, ed. C. Cross, Borthwick Texts and Calendars: Records of the Northern Province, 10 (York, 1984), pp. 86-9; *The Certificates of the Commissioners appointed to survey the Chantries, Guilds, Hospitals etc. in the County of York. Part II*, ed. W. Page, Surtees Society, XCII (1895), p. 428.

¹⁸ Dickens, *Robert Holgate*, pp. 1-10, 17-18, 22-3, 28-30.

have been a native of York. Cushioned by his more than adequate pension of £22 a year, after the dissolution he made his home in the immediate vicinity of his priory, describing himself as a priest within the parish of the blessed Trinity in Micklegate in his will of 9 September 1545. Among his bequests he gave 6s. 8d. to William Gryme and Richard Stubbes, and promised a further 6s. 8d. to any other former members of his community should they come to claim it. Unlike Speght, the former prior of St Andrew's, John Lepington, apparently left the city in search of preferment. He obtained a dispensation to hold a benefice despite defect of birth in 1537, and can possibly be identified with the priest of the same name who occupied a canonry in Chester cathedral between 1545 and 1554.¹⁹

Like Speght, three out of the four heads of the friaries also chose to stay on in York. Brian Godson, the prior of the Dominicans, briefly became a chantry priest in the church of St Mary, Bishophill Junior, and was also serving as a keeper of the Corpus Christi guild at the time of his death in the autumn of 1541. His will reveals his many connections with other former religious. After requesting to be buried in the church of Newton on Ouse, where his chief legatees, his sister and brother, were living, and where he himself may have been born, and asking Robert Roundal, the last prior of Healaugh, and John Hodson, almost certainly a former canon of St Andrew's, to witness his will, he left a suit of purple vestments jointly to William Bradforth, a past member of his friary, and Edward Smythe, another canon of St Andrew's, and a silver spoon to the last prioress of Clementhorpe, Dame Isobel Warde.²⁰

A native of Copmanthorpe, William Vavasour, the last warden of the York Franciscans, had as a young man studied for a considerable time at Oxford before receiving the degree of doctor of divinity in 1500, and subsequently returning to the north of England to take charge of the York friary. Unusually for a mendicant, he gained a small pension of £5 at the dissolution. He also settled in St Mary, Bishophill Junior, and at his death late in 1544 sought to be buried before St Peter's altar in the parish church. Having already bestowed twenty-six books upon various priests, in his will he bequeathed the residue of his library to Ralph Clayton, £9 6s. 8d. to Robert More to celebrate requiem masses daily for the space of two years, and 10s. to Thomas Johnson to pray for his soul. All three had been members of his priory in 1538.²¹

John Aske, the last prior of the York Austins, similarly remained in the city and, perhaps through his Percy connections, reinforced at the time of the Pilgrimage of Grace, acquired the earl of Northumberland's chantry at St Mary's altar in the minster, which he held until at least 1546. In 1542 he received a token bequest from a former member of his community, Edward Bank, then a priest in St Martin, Coney Street. Aske himself

¹⁹Borthwick Institute Prob. Reg. 11 pt. I f. 37r-v (Margaret Speghe); Prob. Reg. 13 pt. I f. 51r-v (Richard Speght als. Hudson); *Faculty Office Registers*, pp. 117, 181; LP Hen. VIII, XX, pt. I, no. 465 (31); *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Philip and Mary, I* (London, 1937), p. 221.

²⁰C. F. R. Palmer, 'The Friar Preachers, or Black Friars of York', *YAJ*, VI (1881), 417-19; *York Clergy Wills 1520-1600; 2. The City Clergy*, ed. C. Cross, Borthwick Texts and Calendars: Records of the Northern Province 15 (York, 1989), pp. 23-4.

²¹L. M. Goldthorpe, 'The Franciscans and Dominicans in York', *YAJ*, XXXII (1936), 288-91; *York City Clergy Wills*, pp. 33-6.

seems not to have left a will, and apparently died before the chantry commissioners made their second visitation of the minster in 1548.²²

A much younger man, having graduated as bachelor of theology at Oxford only in 1533, the last prior of the Carmelites, Simon Clerkson, pursued a very different path. Although during his time as prior he had participated in a major heresy trial in defence of Catholic orthodoxy, after his presentation by the earl of Shrewsbury to the vicarage of Rotherham in 1539 he turned his back on his former beliefs, and obtained a licence to preach the Gospel throughout the length and breadth of the kingdom. In 1541 he secured the vicarage of Crowle in Lincolnshire to which in 1548 he added that of Stainby. Finally, in September 1554, he acquired the valuable crown living of Doncaster, to which, however, he may never have been instituted because of his protestant convictions. Having married some time before the end of the reign of Edward VI, he was deprived of both Rotherham and Stainby in October 1554.²³

Like three of the heads of the York friaries, Isabel Warde, the last prioress of Clementhorpe, opted to remain in the city. Awarded a pension of no more than £6 13s. 4d. she nevertheless appears to have lived in some comfort, reputedly at Jacob's Well in Trinity Lane, off Micklegate. Fifty-six years old in 1556, she died in Trinity parish in 1569, when she included among her possessions a silver goblet, parcel gilt, a number of silver spoons and quite considerable reserves of cash. Despite the adoption of Protestantism by the state church a full decade earlier, in her will she still commended her soul to Almighty God, her creator and redeemer, and besought the prayers of 'the blessed Virgin Mary and all the holy company of heaven'. She requested to be buried beside her stall in the lady choir of Holy Trinity, Micklegate and provided £5 for a funeral dirge.²⁴

After she had surrendered Wilberfoss priory to the crown in August 1539, another prioress, Elizabeth Lord, gravitated to York where George Gale, goldsmith and twice mayor, was married to her sister, Mary. An even more formidable figure than Isobel Warde, during the last decade of her life she forged close links with the city's governing elite upon whom she bestowed a considerable amount of plate on her death early in 1551, when as well as her many gilt standing pieces, goblets, silver pots and spoons she had at her disposal almost £70 in cash. Having made token bequests to four of her former nuns 'which was sisters with me in the house of Wilberfoss', she asked to be buried near her brother's stall in the Lady choir of Holy Trinity, Goodramgate.²⁵

Despite their much lower pensions, at least some members of the richer foundations seem also to have prospered in the secular church. A little before the

²² *York City Clergy Wills*, p. 27; *The Certificates of the Commissioners appointed to survey the Chantries, Guilds, Hospitals etc. in the County of York, Part I*, ed. W. Page, Surtees Society, XCI (1894), p. 21.

²³ A. B. Emden, *Biographical Register of the University of Oxford A.D. 1501-1540* (Oxford, 1974), p. 123; L.P. Hen VIII, XIII pt. I no. 1434 (p. 530).

²⁴ Borthwick Institute Prob. Reg. 18 f. 152v.

²⁵ Borthwick Institute Prob. Reg. 13 pt. II f. 705r.-v.

dissolution the abbot of St Mary's made over to trustees the next presentation to the abbey's living of Wilby in Norfolk to provide for the prior, Guy Kelsaye alias Oswaldkirk. Kelsaye held this benefice from 1540 till 1553 when he passed it on to another of his brethren, Thomas Pierson. A third monk from St Mary's, Richard Donatson, also moved to East Anglia, where in 1550 he obtained the living of Hasketon in Suffolk worth £13 6s. 8d. This in combination with his monastic pension brought him a total annual income of over £18. He stayed at Hasketon and continued to draw his pension until his death in 1575. Thomas Eshe acquired the Lincolnshire rectory of Harold in 1554, which he may have combined with that of Farndish in Bedfordshire. He also was receiving his monastic pension in 1573. Other St Mary's monks settled much nearer home. Thomas Singleton became rector of Foston, one of the abbey's appropriations, where he died in the autumn of 1548, while in 1551 Robert Deane was admitted to one mediety of the church of Linton in Craven, where 'impotent and weak' he was still rector and still drawing his pension in February 1596.²⁶

A number of St Mary's monks chose to remain in York, even though as a general rule city livings yielded far less than those in the country. Robert Underwode, who in his will of April 1543 described himself as priest in St. Helen's, Stonegate, may well have been the Robert Underwode awarded a pension of £6 at the abbey's dissolution. Thomas Baynes certainly used his monastic pension to supplement the rectory of St Mary, Castlegate which he served from soon after 1539 until his death in the summer of 1552. John Thompson alias York, who from his toponymic would seem to have been a native of the city, first held the very poor rectory of St Wilfrid before moving on to act for a decade or more as a curate in St Michael le Belfrey. With a more than adequate pension of £10, and so under no economic necessity to seek further clerical employment, the sub-prior, Thomas Clynt, alias Staveley, resided in the parish of St Martin, Micklegate and asked to be buried in the parish church on his death at the beginning of 1549. Thomas Barker may possibly be identified with the rector of St Martin, Micklegate of the same name, summoned to appear before the high commission as late as October 1570.²⁷

Like this group of St Mary's monks the canons of St Leonard's hospital do not seem to have experienced too much difficulty in finding a new role in the ecclesiastical life of the city. Before the surrender of their house, the master and brethren of the hospital had

²⁶G. W. O. Woodward, *The Dissolution of the Monasteries* (London, 1966), p. 148; G. Baskerville, 'Married Clergy and the Pensioned Religious in Norwich Diocese 1555', *English Historical Review*, XLVIII (1933), 220; T. M. Fallows, 'Names of Yorkshire Ex-Religious, 1573; their Pensions and Subsidies to the Queen thereon', *YAJ*, XIX (1907), 101; *The State of the Ex-Religious and Former Chantry Priests in the Diocese of Lincoln, 1547-1574 from Returns in the Exchequer*, ed. G. A. Hodgett, Lincoln Record Society, LIII (1959), p. 90; Borthwick Institute Prob. Reg. 13, pt. I f. 443v.; Borthwick Institute Inst. A B 1 f. 197r.; HC AB 12 f. 316r.

²⁷Palliser, *Reformation in York*, p.13; TNA E 101/76/24; *York City Clergy Wills*, pp. 22, 30, 31, 45, 46, 48-9; Borthwick Institute C P G 3558; J. C. H. Aveling, *Catholic Recusancy in the City of York, 1558-1791* (London, 1970), pp. 324-5.

assigned their rectory of St Denys in Walmgate to trustees. In 1544 these men presented the former cellarer, Edward Smythe, to the living, which he served until his death in 1546 when he bequeathed a Latin New Testament and another unnamed little Latin book to the parson of the adjoining parish of St Margaret. Robert Hall, the hospital's last receiver, followed Smythe at St Denys, until 1548 combining the rectory with the chantry of St Blaise in the minster. Hall, who witnessed the will of his former master, Thomas Magnus, in March 1550, continued as rector of St Denys until his death in 1568. A third brother of St Leonard's, William Shutt, like Hall initially augmented his pension of £5 6s 8d. with the chantry of the Holy Innocents in the minster, worth £3 6s. 8d. a year. On the abolition of the chantries in 1548 he stayed on as a vicar choral in the minster until his death in 1564, and consequently over a single life time, having begun his professional career singing the divine office in the hospital chapel, took part in the much attenuated English choral services in the Edwardian period, assisted in the restoration of the Catholic liturgy under Mary, and celebrated the simplified English protestant rite once more after Elizabeth's accession. A fourth brother, John Grayson, who had transferred to the hospital only on the dissolution of Drax Augustinian priory in 1536, also stayed in York for the rest of his life perhaps as an unbeneficed clerk in the parish of St Michael, Spurriergate. As the son of William Grayson of York, wiredrawer, he became a freeman of the city in 1547.²⁸

Some of the rank and file religious from York's smaller houses also succeeded in gaining benefices in the secular church. After the dissolution, Leonard Sharpe, one of the four canons of St Andrew's priory in Fishergate, left a considerable amount of bedding by his mother Janet Greenwell, of All Saints, Pavement in 1537, secured the living of Ellerton, which had belonged to Ellerton Gilbertine priory. His fellow canon, John Hodgeson, had become vicar of St Mary, Bishophill Junior by 1541. He made his will as 'curate' of Bishophill in September 1550, bequeathing all his books to another York priest, John Tyas. William Bysset, the third member of the community, seems also to have remained in the vicinity of his former priory. Said to be fifty-five in 1556, he was still being paid his pension in 1573, when he would have been about seventy-two years old.²⁹

Even though they had no pensions, through a deft use of patronage some of the monks of Holy Trinity also managed to make their way in the city. William Gryme simply stayed on as rector of Holy Trinity, Micklegate, where he died in 1556, leaving the parish his two great books of the Bible and his Ordinary in Latin. By 1548 his fellow monk, Richard Stubbes, had obtained two city chantries, one in the minster, one in St John, Ousebridge; after their dissolution he may have gone on to a curacy at Dringhouses. Since in a very short will made at the end of Mary's reign he requested to be buried in the churchyard,

²⁸ *York City Clergy Wills*, pp. 41-2, 45, 46; *York Clergy Wills*, pp. 87-9; *Yorkshire Chantry Certificates*, Surtees Soc. XCII, p. 446; Aveling, *York Recusancy*, 305, 308.

²⁹ Borthwick Institute Prob. Reg. 11 pt. I f. 253r.; Palliser, *The Reformation in York*, p. 13; *York City Clergy Wills*, pp. 55-6; TNA E 101/76/23; Fallows, 'Names of Yorkshire Ex-Religious, 1573', *YAJ*, XIX, 101.

Robert Collingson may have served as a priest in St Margaret's, Walmgate. A fourth former member of the priory, Robert Barker, briefly acquired the rectory of Holy Trinity, Goodamgate in 1558.³⁰

Without the same access to preferment as the monks, the sixty or so friars expelled from their York priories in 1538 found it considerably more difficult to earn an adequate living. Of those who stayed in the city most seem to have become chantry priests. The Austin, Peter Glenton, combined St Stephen's chantry in the minster, worth £6, with a second chantry in St Helen, Stonegate, worth £2 11s. which brought him a total income of £8 11s., well above the average of that of most York city incumbents, while his colleague, William Watson, held All Hallows' chantry in the minster together with Sir Ralph Bulmer's chantry in St Michael le Belfrey, which produced a comparable sum. Most, though, had to content themselves with a single chantry in a city church, nearly always less well-endowed than a chantry in the minster. The Dominican, John Wilson, appears to have served a chantry in Christ Church, King's Court at a salary of a little over £5, while his fellow Dominican, Thomas Richardson, may have acquired a chantry in the virtually redundant church of St Peter the Little. Of the Franciscans, only Ralph Clayton succeeded in obtaining a chantry in the city. Reported to be thirty-nine years old, of honest qualities and conditions and well learned, in 1548 he was drawing just over £6 a year from a chantry in St Mary, Castlegate. In addition one Carmelite, John White, secured an inadequately endowed chantry in St Crux, where he was recorded as being fifty-six years old, of honest conversation and qualities but meanly learned in 1546.³¹

Few friars ever attained parochial livings in York. The Austin, George Bellerby, succeeded the St Mary's monk, John Thompson, in the desperately poor rectory of St Wilfrid in 1545: on his death the following year his total goods amounted to a pathetic £2 9s. The Franciscan, Thomas Gibson, seems to have acquired the benefice of the equally poor parish of All Saints, Peasholme, in 1551. Both these tiny parishes disappeared in the subsequent amalgamations later in the sixteenth century which reduced the number of parishes in the city from around forty-five to twenty-three. Without benefices of any kind for at least the first decade after the dissolution, most of the former friars who settled in York, like the Franciscans Thomas Johnson, John Wickham and Robert More and the Austins Edward Bank and William Motley, had no choice but to earn their living as stipendiary priests, and their chances of gaining such posts greatly diminished when testators ceased hiring priests to celebrate requiem masses and obits on the abolition of chantries in 1548. After this date, some of the former friars went on to act as curates in the parishes where they had previously served as a chantry priest. John White, the former Carmelite, who had gone on to become a chantry priest in St Crux, still described himself as a clerk within the parish of St Crux at his death 1572, when more than thirty years after the suppression of his priory he appointed his fellow Carmelite, James Johnson, the

³⁰ *York City Clergy Wills*, pp. 36, 37, 72-3, 80-1; *Yorkshire Chantry Certificates*, Surtees Soc. XCII, p. 459; Borthwick Institute Inst AB 2 f. 39r.

³¹ *Yorkshire Chantry Certificates*, Surtees Soc. XCII, pp. 451, 453, 454, 466, 470; Borthwick Institute Cav. Bk 1 f. 22r.; *York City Clergy Wills*, pp. 95-7.

supervisor of his will. Johnson seems to have fared rather better than most of his colleagues. Having lived sufficiently long to profit from the pronounced fall in ordinations from the mid-century onwards, in 1558 he obtained the vicarage of St Lawrence which he held for almost a further three decades until he died in 1586.³²

After the dissolution, women no longer had a role in the secular church, so in theory the plight of the York female religious, the four St Leonard's sisters and the eight Clementhorpe nuns, would seem to have been far worse than that of the friars. The Edwardian authorities permitted the former religious to marry, but none of the York nuns or sisters seems to have taken advantage of this new freedom. As single women, the four sisters from St Leonard's would just about have been able to maintain an independent existence on their pensions of £4 6s. 8d. a year. Three had died before the 1556 survey; the longest lived of the four, Margaret Hardle, was still drawing her pension in 1564. Apart from their prioress the Clementhorpe nuns had received no pensions at all and so might have been thought to have faced destitution. In practice, however, their lot may have been rather less grim. The late medieval church contained far fewer nuns than monks, and consequently they tended to be drawn from the nobility, the gentry and the ranks of the urban elite, who had the means to re-assume responsibility for their dispossessed daughters and sisters. In 1548 in the will of her mother, Isabel, widow of Robert Craike, esquire, the former Wilberfoss nun, Elizabeth Craike, received gowns, a considerable amount of household goods and an annuity of £3 6s. 8d.: the Clementhorpe nuns may well have been similarly befriended by their families.³³

All these former male and female religious outwardly conformed to the diametrically opposed church settlements of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth. A few even went on to become convinced Protestants. In the Edwardian period in addition to Robert Holgate and Simon Clerkson, Gilbert Berkeley, a graduate member of the York Franciscan friary, propagated the new religion from the rectory of Attleborough in Norfolk, to which he had been appointed in 1547. Deprived of his living on account of his marriage in Mary's reign, he fled to the continent to join the English protestant exiles at Frankfort. On his return to England after Elizabeth's accession he was elevated to the bishopric of Bath and Wells where he remained until his death in 1581. An older colleague, Ralph Clayton, who had inherited much of the last prior's library, and after the loss of his York chantry gained the living of Hutton Buscel, also sympathised sufficiently with the new mores to marry in 1553.³⁴

³²Borthwick Institute Sede Vac. Reg 5A f. 680v.; Chancery wills 1547 (Bellerby); Archbp. Reg. 29 ff. 43v., 44r.; Inst. AB 2 f. 165r.; HC AB f. 1r; *York City Clergy Wills*, pp. 27-8, 33-4, 85-6, 91-2, 95-7; *Churchwardens' Accounts of St Michael, Spurriergate, York, 1518-1548*, II, ed. C. C. Webb, Borthwick Texts and Calendars 20 (York, 1997), pp. 222, 223-24, 250-51, 263; D. M. Palliser 'The Union of Parishes at York, 1547-86', *YAJ*, XLVI (1974), pp. 87-102.

³³TNA LR6/122/8 m. 24; Borthwick Institute Prob. Reg. 13 pt. II f. 460r.

³⁴C. H. Garrett, *The Marian Exiles 1553-1559* (Cambridge, 1938), p. 87; A. G. Dickens, *Lollards and Protestants in the Diocese of York, 1509-1558* (London, 1959), pp. 147-8; Borthwick Institute Chanc. AB 7 ff. 51v., 55v., 63r., 76r.-v., 84r., 86r., 87r., 88r.-v., 89v., 91v., 93v.; CP G 3441.

The great majority, however, seem to have retained their traditional beliefs and to have shared little of the zeal of the residentiary canons actively promoting Protestantism in the minster from early in Elizabeth's reign under the reforming chancellor, Richard Barnes. A few dared to raise their heads above the parapet. The vicar of St Martin, Coney Street, Thomas Grayson, a one time canon of Newburgh, and the brother of John Grayson, the former canon of St Leonard's hospital, appeared before the high commission in 1567 on a charge of secreting vestments and books belonging to a recusant gentry family from Stillingfleet. He weathered the storm to leave at his death eleven years later an old angel to his parishioner, Mistress Maye, the mother of Margaret Clitherow. Even more openly seditious, Edward Sandall, a one-time Kirkstall monk, then a clerk in St Martin, Micklegate, and a known 'misliker of the religion now established in this realm', was heard boasting in 1568 that 'he trusted to see the day when he shall have twenty of the heretics' heads that now be in authority under his girdle.' More circumspect, most of the former York religious, like the last prioress of Clementhorpe, kept their sympathy for the old religion to themselves and simply soldiered on. With reminders of their monastic past at every turn, the grand house of the abbot of St Mary's converted into offices for the king's Council in the North, St Leonard's hospital transformed into a royal mint, Holy Trinity priory church truncated, St Andrew's priory, Clementhorpe nunnery and the four friaries all in ruins, these survivors can surely be forgiven for looking back with nostalgia to their glory days.³⁵

³⁵ *A History of York Minster*, eds. G. E. Aylmer and R. Cant (Oxford, 1977), pp. 200-1, 205; *York City Clergy Wills*, pp. 99-101; *Aveling, York Recusancy*, pp. 166-7.

ARCHBISHOP HARCOURT'S RECRUITMENT OF LITERATE CLERGYMEN.

PART 1: NON-GRADUATE CLERGY IN THE DIOCESE OF YORK, 1800-1849

By Sara Slinn

A study of the York ordination records 1800-1849 demonstrates a significant graduate deficit amongst men taking Orders in York diocese. In the first quarter of the nineteenth century, non-graduate candidates, known as literates, comprised over 50% of those ordained, peaking in 1818 when over 75% had no university degree. This challenges the assumption that graduate clergy were the norm in the early nineteenth century, except in unrepresentative backwaters. The experience of York diocese, with its vast territory and population, should not be easily dismissed. Towards the middle of the century the proportion of graduates recruited increased. This was due to a combination of factors, including the increase in the numbers graduating from University, changing expectations of men taking orders and changes within the diocese concerning the values of stipends, benefices, and changes in pastoral organisation. Archbishop Harcourt showed concern about pastoral standards. From the mid 1820s he stipulated that non-graduate ordinands should have studied at St Bees Clerical Institution or with a clergyman authorised by him. He harnessed the existing training work of a number of clergymen in a way that served the diocese's needs. This will be examined further in Part 2 of this article, 'Clerical Seminaries for Literates in York Diocese, 1800-49', to be published in 2009.

INTRODUCTION

The second half of the eighteenth century and the first part of the nineteenth saw a chronic shortage in graduate clergy in the diocese of York. An examination of the York Institution Act Books and the bundles of ordination papers for those men ordained in this period makes it possible to come to a fuller picture of the magnitude of the deficit in the diocese, and to examine how the problem of supplying suitably educated clergy was addressed, for a period when a large proportion of the clerical workforce ordained in the diocese had not followed what was considered by their contemporaries to be the usual and proper route into the Church. In particular, the ordination records enable an examination of the role of Archbishop Vernon Harcourt in the regulation of independent clerical seminaries and 'tutors for orders'.

Although Vernon Harcourt occupied the see of York for almost forty years during the major nineteenth-century upheavals of reform in church and state, he has remained a somewhat ephemeral figure on the episcopal bench compared with both his nineteenth-century peers and his more illustrious brothers in the York succession. Not having the benefit of a prominent biography, he has rarely been

remarked upon either by his immediate successors or by historians.¹ This present article is not an attempt to recast Harcourt as a major innovator, but it does focus upon how the graduate deficit was dealt with during his episcopate and his novel approach to clerical provision; how he harnessed and regularised the training work of evangelical clergymen in a way that served his diocese's needs.

THE ACADEMIC ORIGINS OF YORK ORDINANDS, 1700-1850

The York Institution Act Books and surviving ordination papers supply a picture of the changing academic origin of York ordinands. For the period 1700 to 1749, 83.1 per cent of men who took orders with titles in the York diocese had degrees. Only 9.5 per cent of the men ordained in this period were described as literates, meaning that they had no English university degree at the point of ordination.² In the latter half of the eighteenth century literate candidates formed an increasingly large proportion of new clergymen. Between 1750 and 1774, 48 per cent of ordinations were of men who had not received a university degree, and this proportion changed little between 1775 and 1799 when 48.6 per cent of candidates were literate.³ In the last half of the eighteenth century, ordination of literates peaked in the 1770s, and then fell away to the end of the century. Then, between 1800 and 1824, ordination of literate candidates increased again until these non-graduates actually came to comprise the majority, 56 per cent of the successful candidates. A peak was reached in 1818 when just over three quarters of the candidates had not received a university degree. There was then a rapid decrease between 1825 and 1849 in the proportion of literate ordinands, to an average of 21 per cent over the whole period 1825 to 1849. In fact, in the last four years of Harcourt's episcopate, 1844 to 1847, literates formed fewer than three per cent of ordinands.⁴ Figure 1 shows the timing of the increases and decreases of the literate contribution to the pool of clerical recruits.⁵

¹ Volume XII of *The Harcourt Papers*, ed. E. W. Harcourt, 14 vols (Oxford, 1880-1905) contains material relating to the life of Edward Vernon Harcourt. This was privately published and only 50 copies were produced. A. M. G. Stephenson wrote a short paper on 'Archbishop Vernon Harcourt', in *Studies in Church History* 4, ed. G. J. Cuming (Leiden, 1967).

² Data taken from Anna Bissett, *York Clergy Ordinations, 1700-1749* (York, 2000). In this article the term literate is taken to mean those men who had not taken a degree at an English University or Dublin University at the point of ordination. This means that the category includes men who had attended University but left before graduation, those who had entered but never resided, men who had attended clerical colleges such as St Bees and Lampeter, a few men who had attended Scottish and foreign Universities but whose qualifications were not considered adequate, as well as those who had received a much less formal education, preparing themselves by private study and assistance from clergymen and schoolmasters. This definition follows the practice of the office of the archbishops.

³ Data taken from D. Usher, *York Clergy Ordinations 1750-1799* (York, 2002).

⁴ There was only one ordination in 1847, conducted by the bishop of Ripon on behalf of the elderly archbishop. On this occasion there were no literate ordinands. Harcourt died on 5 November 1847.

⁵ Data taken from Sara Slinn, *York Clergy Ordinations, 1800-1849* (York, 2001) [hereafter *YCO 1800-1849*].

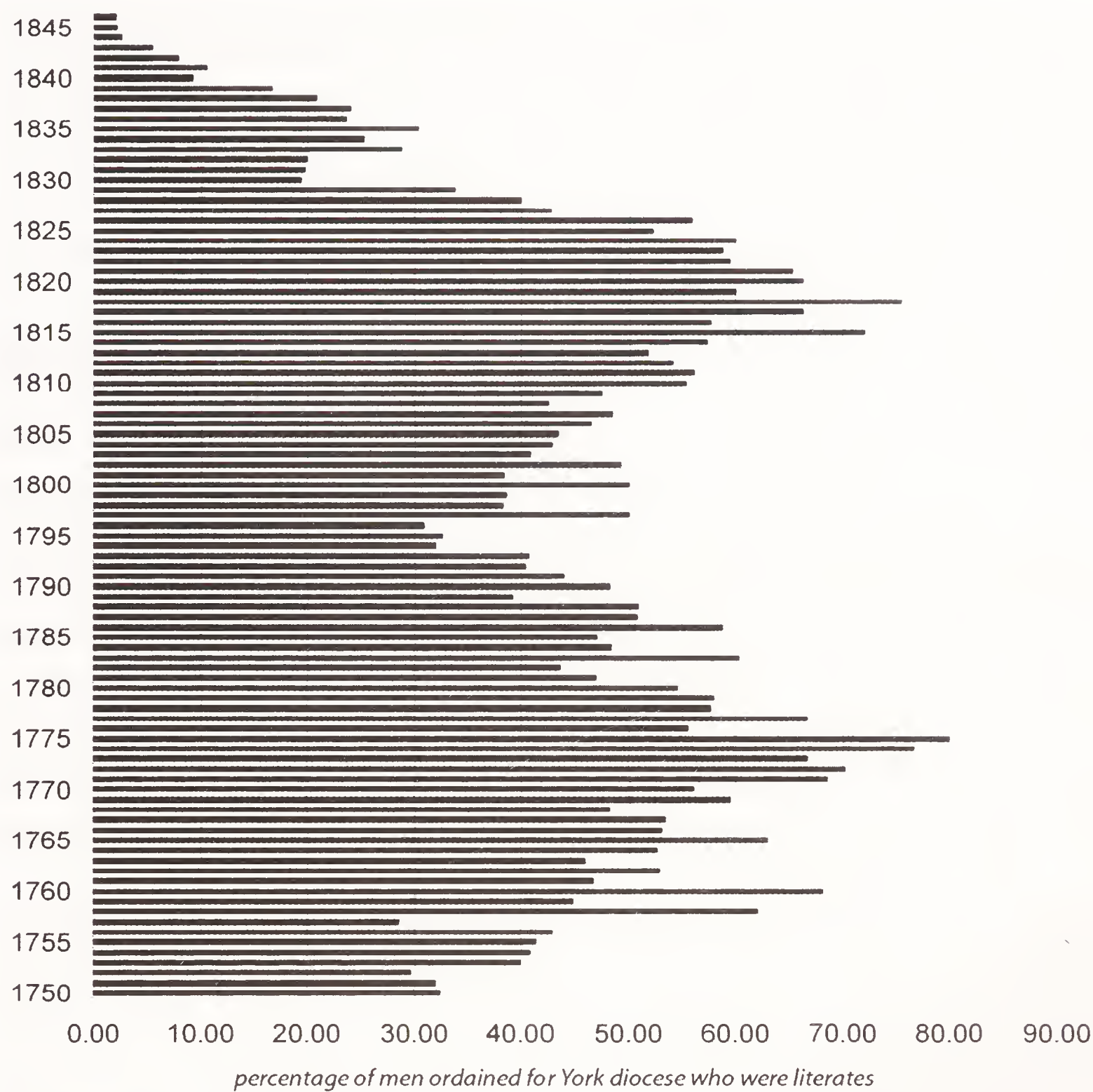


Fig.1 Percentage of men ordained for the diocese of York who were literates.

EXPLAINING PATTERNS OF GRADUATE RECRUITMENT

Several factors contributed to the changing proportions of graduates entering the Church. There were a number of national problems creating the graduate shortage, and these hit large, poorer dioceses like York particularly hard. Firstly, there was a straightforward problem of supply and demand - quite simply the growing demand for a clerical workforce, especially for curates, set against the numbers graduating from the universities. The demand for extra clergy was driven in part by legislative changes concerning plurality and non-residence which compelled clergy to make formal provision for curates and limited the amount of parish work a man could take on, thus increasing the numbers appearing in the licensing records. Another driver in York diocese, at least from the 1820s, was the burgeoning industrial development of the western part of the diocese and the corresponding population growth and pastoral needs. Like many other northern dioceses, York had a number of disadvantages for the young gentleman seeking his first ecclesiastical title. Many of the parishes

were large and remote. J. C. Atkinson wrote feelingly about his intellectual isolation on going to the parish of Danby in Cleveland in 1847, claiming that he was sixty miles from any collection of books worthy to be named a library, and that it took four weeks for copies of local newspapers to circulate.⁶ Other urban parishes offered squalid, cramped conditions with inadequate church provision, and parishioners who were indifferent, if not hostile, to the Established Church. Problems of social unrest, resulting from the high cost of food and under-employment, were also particularly acute in the north. Haig has remarked that young university men from the southern counties reflected widely-held prejudices by exhibiting an 'intense reluctance' to go north, and that the demographic and social changes brought about by industrialization meant that 'The Church's work ... was usually harder in the North.'⁷

Then there was the attractiveness of other professions and occupations to young graduates, linked at least in part to the problems of poor remuneration and career structure offered by the Church. As Johnson has said of entering the Church 'promotion was a gamble, the glittering prizes few'.⁸ Russell has suggested that the Church lagged behind other professions, such as law and medicine, in professionalizing itself.⁹ O'Day, whilst rejecting the idea that the Church was professionalizing itself for the first time during this period, notes that the Church underwent an identity crisis in the early nineteenth century and that a revival of occupational professionalism amongst the clergy happened only later in the century, particularly after the 1840s when the clergy were a much younger group of men.¹⁰ Peter Virgin reckons that in the first few decades of the century one in five priests never made it as far as a benefice.¹¹

Despite these problems York diocese could and did attract some dedicated, enthusiastic young gentlemen with a desire to minister regardless of the remuneration on offer. But the diocese had less to offer the young gentleman hoping for a comfortable curacy with light duties, to mark time between deacon and priest, before moving on to a more profitable family benefice. The financial rewards afforded to York's curates in the first few decades of the nineteenth century were not as attractive as those offered by many other dioceses, and were below what could offer a comfortable living to a young man of any status, unless he had independent means.

⁶ J.C. Atkinson, *Forty Years in a Moorland Parish* (London, 1891), pp. viii, 16; *Dictionary of National Biography*, Supplement, vol. 1 (London, 1901).

⁷ Alan Haig, *The Victorian Clergy* (London, 1984), p. 118.

⁸ Malcolm Johnson, *Bustling Intermeddler? The life and work of Charles James Blomfield* (Leominster, 2001), p. 17.

⁹ Anthony Russell, *The Clerical Profession* (London, 1980), p. 245.

¹⁰ Rosemary O'Day, 'The Clerical Renaissance in Victorian England and Wales', *Religion in Victorian Britain, vol. 1, Traditions*, ed. G. Parsons (Manchester, 1988), p. 186.

¹¹ Peter Virgin, *The Church in an Age of Negligence: Ecclesiastical structure and the problems of church reform, 1700-1849* (Cambridge, 1989), p. 141.

The fact that the proportion of graduates recruited to the clerical workforce of the diocese rose in the late 1830s and 1840s was the result of a number of changes in the factors outlined above. Firstly, there was the changing size and composition of the diocese. Secondly, as the century wore on, there were an increasing number of graduates available nationally as the universities entered a period of renaissance. Thirdly, there was the slowly increasing value of curacies following legislation, and the work of Queen Anne's Bounty, the Church Pastoral Aid Society and the Additional Curates Society. These factors reduced York diocese's need for clergy, removed some of the curacies that were most difficult to staff, and increased the stipends available to new clergy. At the same time, Harcourt's regularization of pre-ordination training for literates provided an extra pool of suitable, if not ideal, men for the ministry, whose utility remained while graduates were in short supply.

DIOCESAN RESTRUCTURING AND PASTORAL PROVISION

The diocese's changing demand for clergy is reflected in the total numbers of ordinations of men for the York diocese performed in the years 1800 to 1849 (Fig.2). These figures are calculated using *York Clergy Ordinations 1800-1849*, which was compiled using the York Institution Act Books and bundles of ordination papers at the Borthwick Institute for Archives, University of York. The figures include all men ordained to titles in York diocese, both those ordained in person by the archbishop, and those ordained on letters dimissory from the archbishop by other bishops, but excludes men ordained by the archbishop of York, on letters dimissory from other bishops, who were not properly part of the York ordinand cohort.

In the first decade of the century an average of forty-eight men a year were ordained, a figure not dissimilar to years in the latter part of the eighteenth century. By the 1810s the average number of ordinands in a year was sixty-five and by the 1820s it had risen by over 24 per cent to eighty-one. In the 1830s it rose slightly to eighty-four men per year, but if the period before the loss of territory to Ripon and Lincoln dioceses, in 1836 and 1837 respectively, is analysed more closely, an average ninety men a year was being ordained, with the all time high falling on the eve of York's fissuring. In 1835, 112 men were ordained. In the diminished diocese of the 1840s we see a much smaller number of men being ordained, with the average number of ordinands in any one year being forty-seven. In the last years of Harcourt's episcopate, levels had returned to those last seen in the 1800s. Note that in Harcourt's last year, 1847, ordination levels were artificially low due to the infirmity of the bishop. The high figures in 1848 are explained by the new archbishop's tackling the ordination backlog.

These recruitment figures can be explained by looking at both the legislative developments resulting from national concerns about general standards of pastoral oversight, and the changing nature of York diocese itself. Concerns about the quality of pastoral care - the overstretching of clerical function caused by pluralism, and the *ad hoc*, unofficial arrangements made by some clergy to cover their duties - had led to several Acts which regulated where beneficed clergy could reside, how long they could absent themselves from their parishes, how many and what type of benefices



Fig. 2 Total number of men ordained for York diocese, 1800-49

could be held in plurality, and the provision that was to be made for pastoral care during their absence.¹² The general efficacy of the earlier Acts has been doubted and further investigation is needed to see if the practice of archbishops Markham and Harcourt was changed by this legislation on a level deeper than alterations to the outward forms of the licensing procedure. Rycroft has shown that in the Craven

¹² The Clergy Residence Act, 36 Geo IV c.83 (1803), had tightened up licensing procedures of curates, and 53 Geo III c.149 (1813) penalized non-resident incumbents who failed to appoint curates. 57 Geo. III c. 99 (1817) repealed the earlier Acts but the substance was re-enacted with additional details concerning the licensing of curates. The Pluralities Act, 1 & 2 Vict. c.106 (1838) further regulated residence and aimed to control pluralism.

deanery at least, residence of incumbents was increased following these Acts but there is more work to be done to show the effect of the operation of the Acts on the recruitment of curates in the diocese as a whole.¹³

There were also changes within the diocese. The growing population of the industrial heartlands of Yorkshire produced a demand for assistant curates to aid the incumbents of large urban parishes, and as the century wore on the proliferation of urban benefices further increased the need for manpower. A survey of the Orders in Council issued for the York Diocese 1818-49 shows that fifty-eight new ecclesiastical jurisdictions were created in this period, many of them associated with the rebuilding, or building from scratch, of churches to serve new districts and parishes. The creation of these new jurisdictions accelerated through the 1830s and 1840s.¹⁴ Coupled with a fuller, more demanding view of the clergyman's professional duties, including an increased demand for preaching, teaching and visiting, York diocese's demand for clergy grew dramatically in the first decades of the nineteenth century. Data from the 1836 *Clerical Guide* demonstrate that York's demand for staff was high. With over 891 benefices to fill, it was the third largest diocese in England, smaller only than Lincoln and Norwich, and in 1836 there were 390 curates in York. Again only two dioceses, Norwich and Lincoln, were employing more.¹⁵ However, the changes brought about by the creation of Ripon diocese in 1836, which reduced the acreage of the diocese by almost half, and the loss of Nottinghamshire archdeaconry to Lincoln diocese in the following year, fundamentally changed the nature of the see, removing some of the most densely populated industrial areas, around Halifax, Bradford and Leeds, from the archbishop's direct responsibility.¹⁶ York diocese lost, almost overnight, some of its least attractive and hard-to-staff curacies. Nationally, the period after this territorial reorganisation was characterised by a huge expansion of the clerical workforce and Russell notes that the number of assistant curates employed between 1835 and 1841 doubled.¹⁷ Undoubtedly, in the territory that York had lost to the new Ripon diocese, demand for clergy, particularly curates, would have increased at a greater rate than in the less populated parts of Yorkshire.¹⁸ At foundation in 1836 Ripon had 296 incumbents and 76 curates; by 1874 there were 462 incumbents and 245 curates. In thirty-six years the number of incumbents in this new diocese rose by 50 per cent; the number of curates by 300 per cent. The fact

¹³ John T. McNeill, 'Anglicanism on the Eve of the Oxford Movement', *Church History*, 3:2 (June 1934), pp.101, 105-7. Peter Rycroft, 'Church and Community in Craven, 1764-1851' (unpublished D.Phil, University of Oxford, 1988), pp.117-18.

¹⁴ 'The formation of new parishes and ecclesiastical districts in the diocese of York 1818-1968: a summary list', *Borthwick Institute Bulletin*, 2:1 (York, 1979), pp. 27-59.

¹⁵ *The Clerical Guide*, 1836 (London, 1836), Tables of the Incomes of Incumbents and Curates.

¹⁶ J. A. Hargreaves, 'The Georgian and Early Victorian Church in the Parish of Halifax, 1740-1851', *Transactions of the Halifax Antiquarian Society* (1990), p. 51.

¹⁷ Russell, *Clerical Profession*, p. 37, 241.

¹⁸ The Pluralities Act 1838 (1 & 2 Vict. c.106) not only enforced residence on incumbents but also stipulated that curates should be employed in more populous parishes.

that York had lost responsibility for staffing this pastorally challenging part of Yorkshire eased the diocese's recruitment problems considerably.¹⁹

That the universities were beginning to produce more graduates also helped increase the proportion of graduate clergy in the diocese. The universities of Oxford and Cambridge doubled in size between the first and third decades of the nineteenth century, an expansion particularly marked after peace in 1815, and ordination remained the destiny of 50 per cent of graduates until the 1840s.²⁰ The foundation of Durham University in 1832,²¹ and the University of London in 1836, also slightly increased the number of graduates available.²² Both Durham and Kings College London were specifically Anglican in foundation, both putting a higher priority on theological learning than either Oxford or Cambridge, and both offered a cheaper mode of education. It is important, however, not to overestimate the contribution of these new institutions to the graduate pool. Matriculations remained low until the end of the period,²³ and Haig notes that Trinity College Dublin continued to be the largest provider of graduate clergy to the English Anglican church apart from Oxford and Cambridge, and was the favoured option of the impecunious.²⁴ Knight has noted that the expansion in university education, and hence the numbers seeking ordination, led to an intense competition for titles for orders in the 1820s.²⁵ Haig suggests that it is probable that in the 1820s a higher proportion of ordinands were University graduates than at any other time in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, with graduates making up 91 per cent of ordinands in the period 1827 to 1828.²⁶ This suggestion remains to be examined in detail nationally, but it does not hold true for York diocese. In the 1820s there was no shortage of titles in York, and still a considerable graduate deficit; in 1827, 42.68 per cent of ordinands were not graduates. However, in the late 1820s the proportion of graduates did begin to increase. That increase continued over the next two decades, although it was not until 1840 that York saw graduate clergy comprising over 90 per cent of the applicants for Orders.

¹⁹ Owen Chadwick, *The Victorian Church, Part 2* (London, 1970), p. 244.

²⁰ Haig, *Victorian Clergy*, p. 31; Frances Knight, *The Nineteenth-Century Church and English Society* (Cambridge, 1995), p. 107.

²¹ Eighteen men were ordained for the York diocese who had studied at Durham University. Three of them had not graduated but had been awarded the Lic. Theo.

²² The York ordinands (1800-1849) do not include any London graduates, but James Heany, ordained 1848, was an Associate of Kings College, a two-year course for non-graduates (Borthwick Institute [hereafter BI], Ord.P. 1848, Deacon, James Heany).

²³ Knight, *Nineteenth-Century Church*, p. 107; Haig, *Victorian Clergy*, p. 123; F. W. B. Bullock, *A History of Training for the Ministry of the Church of England, 1800-1874* (St Leonards on Sea, 1955), p. 63, notes that matriculations at Durham numbered only 30 or 40 p.a. before 1846.

²⁴ Haig, *Victorian Clergy*, p. 123.

²⁵ Knight, *Nineteenth-Century Church*, p. 107.

²⁶ Haig, *Victorian Clergy*, p. 31.

THE CURATE'S LOT: STIPENDS AND ENDOWMENTS

Contemporaries saw the Church's problem as a result primarily of the poor rewards it offered. In the 1860s, Thomas Espin was beginning his investigations into the recruitment problems of the church and he concluded that the poor remuneration of the clerical profession and the increasing attractiveness of other spheres of life, particularly in trade and commerce, were to blame. He pointed out that many new churches had very slender endowments, and that as the country had got richer, men's habits had become more expensive and the pace of life quicker. 'The tide of youthful genius and energy sets way from the church towards Australia, India and towards the mart, the court and the bar.'²⁷

The problem of poor curacies was a high profile one, with the Stipendiary Curates Act of 1813 attempting a partial remedy by laying down a minimum stipend of £80, or the whole value of the benefice if it were less than £80, for a curate who had the sole charge of a parish on behalf of a non-resident incumbent.²⁸ But where curates assisted resident clergy, matters were left to the discretion of the incumbent. Despite legislation it is evident that many curates continued to be badly paid. Witnesses before a parliamentary commission in the 1850s considered an income of between £100 and £150 to be adequate for a curate, and Trollope considered that many young men who had had a university education would have lived on nearer £200 a year.²⁹ But the reality was that the average curate's salary was much lower. Advertisements were still appearing in the 1850s offering as little as £20 for a curate, wages considerably lower than those afforded to skilled butlers, cooks and coachmen.³⁰

Using the recorded stipends of curates at their licensing, it is possible to see that in York the curates' lot did improve over the first half of the nineteenth century.³¹ In 1808, the year Harcourt was confirmed as the new archbishop, the average value of a curacy at licensing was just under £45 and, although the modal salary was £50, the next most common salary was just £40. Only 17 per cent of salaries were over £50, with

²⁷ Thomas Espin, *Our Want of Clergy: its causes and suggestions for its cure. A sermon.* (Oxford, 1863), pp. 7-8.

²⁸ 53 Geo.III c.149. If a curate was licensed to two adjacent benefices then there was a £30 reduction in both stipends. That means that a curate who had sole responsibility for neighbouring parishes could not expect to receive £160, but rather £100 for both.

²⁹ Anthony Trollope, *Clergymen of the Church of England*, (Leicester U.P., 1974), pp. 100-1. Trollope was writing in 1866.

³⁰ A. Tindal Hart, *The Curate's Lot*, (London, 1970), pp. 136-7.

³¹ Calculated using the curates' salaries recorded in the York Institution Act Books, at the time of licensing. I have sampled 4 years at 12-yearly intervals: 1808 corresponds to the year Vernon came to the see and is likely to be typical of the last years of Markham's episcopate; 1820 covers the period after the introduction of the Stipendiary Curate's Act; 1832 and 1844 allow comparisons with Knight's data for Buckinghamshire and Lincolnshire (see below); 1844 was also one of Vernon Harcourt's last active years in the diocese. This data includes the stipends of both curates with sole charge of parishes, and curates who were assisting residence incumbents, since the surviving records make it uncertain in which capacity many of these men were licensed.

two new ordinands being offered curacies worth just £20. Only one curate received a stipend of over £100.

By 1820, the average salary offered to new curates had risen considerably, to just over £69. The modal salary was still £50, but this time the next most common salary was £60 rather than £40. Now 67 per cent of stipends were worth over £50, with 21 per cent of the curates licensed being offered £100 or over. The lowest stipend on offer was £30, which went to the curate of Slaithwaite.

In 1832 the average stipend had changed little, now being just under £69, and the modal stipend was still £50. Only 16 per cent of curates were expecting salaries worth £100 or more, and less than 5 per cent were expecting over £100. However, the main change in this sample is that there were now no sub-£50 curacies on offer. Whilst the average stipend had not increased, and the numbers expecting the best-paid curacies had not increased, the poorest ones had been eliminated. It should be remembered, however, that the bishop could and did allow curacies to be served either gratis or for a pittance when men were prepared to serve them and the incumbent could not be expected to pay much or anything for assistance.

Despite these improvements, however, York did not compare favourably with other dioceses. The reported national average stipend for curates was £81 in both 1827 and 1830-1, demonstrating that York salaries were, on average, less attractive than those offered in some other dioceses.³² Knight's work on the clergy of Buckinghamshire, Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire has provided data concerning the value of curacies in these counties.³³ The curacies on offer in Lincolnshire were similar in value to those in York. The modal stipend for a Lincolnshire curate in 1832 was £50. In this year only 12 per cent were valued in excess of £100. However, in contrast, Buckinghamshire curates were as likely to be receiving a stipend of £120 as £50 in 1832.³⁴

By 1844 the average stipend for York had risen to just under £79, still below the 1827 national average, but for the first time the modal stipend rose above £50 to £100, making it comparable to curates' stipends in Buckinghamshire and Nottinghamshire, and higher than Lincolnshire's £50.³⁵ Thirty-six per cent of those licensed in York diocese were getting stipends of £100 or more a year and 14 per cent were getting stipends over £100. Another feature of this sample is that some of the lower stipends creep in again, with Harcourt exercising his prerogative to permit the curates of Sneaton and Sheffield to serve without stipend. He also allowed Old Byland to be served for £30, not thinking fit to assign the stipend required by law, presumably due to the fact that the cure was worth only £55, and that the population was small, just 164 in 1836.³⁶

³² C. K. Francis Brown, *A History of the English Clergy, 1860-1900* (London, 1953), pp. 16-17, gives the average for 1827. The average for 1830-1 is given in *Clerical Guide*, 1836.

³³ For the period after Nottingham archdeaconry was removed from the diocese of York.

³⁴ Knight, *Nineteenth-Century Church*, p. 127.

³⁵ Knight, *Nineteenth-Century Church*, p. 127.

³⁶ Data taken from *Clerical Guide*, 1836.

Data in the 1836 *Clerical Guide*, taken from the report of the Commissioners appointed to enquire into the Ecclesiastical Revenues, who were compiling their data during 1830-1, also allows further comparison of York diocese with others. The Tables of Income of Incumbents of Benefices show that the average net income for York benefices was just £242. The only dioceses with lower average net benefice incomes were, in descending order, Bristol (£232), Llandaff (£177), Carlisle (£175), Sodor and Man (£157) and St David's (£137). York may have been the wealthiest of this group, but it was also keeping three times the number of curates. The total number of curates in York was recorded as 390; the next largest employer was Bristol, which had only 133. In contrast, at the top of the scale was Rochester diocese, where the average benefice was worth £414 per annum. Nine other dioceses could offer average net benefice incomes of over £300, including Durham.³⁷ When it comes to the average stipends paid to curates, York again appears towards the bottom of the scale with only Norwich (£73), Sodor and Man (£70), Llandaff (£59) and St David's (£55) offering lower. It is worth noting that Norwich diocese's famously low standards for ordination are likely to be connected to its large need for curates (Norwich had 523 curates making it the second highest employer of curates in England and Wales), and the relatively low (£313) average net income of benefices.

Looking at the longer term, for those fortunate curates who went on to become beneficed, York diocese offered fewer rewards than most other English sees. Almost half of benefices (47 per cent) were valued at under £150 per annum, which put their incumbents in an income bracket with the lower-middle classes, rather than with the upper-middle classes and gentry where the clergy were generally thought, and wished, to belong. The only other English dioceses with a higher proportion of these low value benefices also lay in the Northern Province: just under 60 percent of Carlisle's and 58 per cent of Chester's. At the other end of the scale was Rochester diocese, which had only 6 per cent of these poor benefices. When it came to benefices valued at £300 or over, which could offer an incumbent with a family a comfortable living, only 23 per cent of York diocese's benefices offered this. Chester and Carlisle were again in an even worse position (19 and 13 per cent respectively). Compared with some of the some of the southern dioceses, which could offer a much higher proportion of these comfortable livings - for example Rochester's 61 per cent, London's 55 per cent, Winchester's 49 per cent and Canterbury's 41 per cent - the see of York would not have looked like the best diocese in which to seek patronage and advancement. Analysis of the geographical origins of clergy has, indeed, shown that London and the South East were magnets for ordinands and clergy, especially from the North and west Midlands.³⁸ The degree of mobility of curates is, as yet, largely unexamined. Some clergy moved across diocesan boundaries to advance their careers, but many of

³⁷ Durham was the wealthiest of the northern dioceses with an average net income of £352 per annum. The average curate's salary was £87 per annum. In terms of benefice numbers and values, and the number and stipends of curates, the diocese was similar to Ely.

³⁸ W. M. Jacob. *The Clerical Profession in the Long Eighteenth Century, 1680-1840* (Oxford, 2007), p.39.

the ordinary rank and file curates were dependent on local patronage to advance them into the ranks of the beneficed, and so made their careers largely within the diocese in which they were ordained. It seems likely, however, that a young man with his eyes fixed on a future in a well-endowed rural rectory, would have been sensible to prefer a first curacy in, say, Rochester diocese, over one in York.

The number of very poor livings did decrease between 1810 and 1830 thanks to grants from Queen Anne's Bounty, and this would have had some effect on the salaries available to curates,³⁹ and from the mid-1830s the Additional Curates Society, founded 1837, and the Church Pastoral Aid Society, founded 1836, began to provide financial augmentation for additional curates. There is, no doubt, much more work to be done to explore the link between the operation of these organisations, the increasing value of curacies, and the increasing recruitment of graduate clergymen into curacies in York diocese.

The poverty of curacies was not an insurmountable bar to recruitment. Young gentlemen of independent means, with degrees, were sometimes prepared to accept the poorest curacies, and it has been pointed out that it was the independent means of the 'gentlemen' clergy, who were not solely dependent on their clerical income, that enabled the Church to be maintained.⁴⁰ Indeed, on a number of occasions Harcourt, as was his episcopal prerogative when benefices were too poor for the provisions of the 1813 Act to be enforced, licensed men to benefices where the incumbent could not be expected to afford the stipulated amount for the assistance of a curate. John Cheetham's title for ordination in February 1834 was Bradford, which he undertook to serve without stipend.⁴¹ Similarly Charles Bissett was licensed to the curacy of Holmfirth after his ordination in June 1836, without a stipend.⁴² James Bell, who was ordained deacon December 1844, was prepared to serve the curacy of Sneaton for only five shillings per annum.⁴³ We can presume that at least on some occasions the prospective ordinand's desire to serve was greater than his need for financial remuneration. In one unusual case, Jonathan Ackroyd, a literate but a rich one, sought ordination in 1825 on the advice of the archbishop so that he could build a new chapel at Skircoat, at his own expense, without arousing suspicion that he was building a dissenting house of worship. Ackroyd's attempt to use Illingworth as a title without stipend proved unsuccessful but he was eventually able to nominate himself curate of his newly built chapel of Skircoat, and was licensed to it in February 1827.⁴⁴ On some occasions we might suspect that a candidate's willingness to accept a curacy for no stipend was an attempt to mask a deception on the part of a well-connected, wealthy candidate and incumbent. In such an arrangement the candidate would get a promise of a curacy, known as a title for orders, one of the prerequisites

³⁹ In 1809 the government granted £100,000 p.a. to supplement livings below £50.

⁴⁰ Brian Heeney, *A Different Kind of Gentleman*, (Connecticut, 1976), pp. 31-2.

⁴¹ BI, Inst.AB 20, p. 155; Ord.P. 1834, Deacon, John Cheetham.

⁴² BI, Inst.AB 20, pp. 217, 219; Ord.P. 1836, Deacon, Charles Bissett.

⁴³ BI, Inst.AB 21, pp. 88-9; Ord.P. 1844, Deacon, James Bell.

⁴⁴ BI, Inst.AB 19, pp. 213, 224; Ord.P. 1826, Deacon, Jonathan Ackroyd.

for ordination, which was in reality a sham since he did not intend to perform any real duties there. In return the incumbent would have received the gratitude of the well-connected young man and his family, and perhaps some occasional assistance on his cure. Such an arrangement may have suited many a young man who was marking time before a lucrative family benefice became vacant but who did not intend to become intimately involved with parish duties in the way an ordinary curate would need to. We might suspect this of John Cooke Faber, who was ordained deacon in April 1835. He claimed to be the son of a friend of the incumbent of Hooton Roberts, but who also had his own independent property nearby.⁴⁵ Thomas Broadley tried to use Elloughton as his title for ordination as deacon in 1801, admitting that he was heir to an income of £1,000 per annum, and was also the owner of an advowson in Lincolnshire. His uncle, Robert Broadly, made no effort to conceal Thomas's career plans when he wrote to the archbishop saying 'the present incumbent [of Thomas' Lincolnshire benefice] is about 68 years of age.'⁴⁶ Even so, one cannot discount the fact that there were some young men who, for one reason or another, were prepared to accept curacies that could not pay well, and enter a profession which offered only scant chance of high reward. The former whaler and explorer, William Scoresby, retired from the sea and took orders in 1825. This change of career apparently reduced his annual income from £800 per annum as a whaler to under £60 per annum as curate of Bessingby. Even when he became vicar of Bradford in 1839 he could expect an annual income from the church of under £500. Indeed, Rycroft has suggested that there may have been emerging a new clerical body, prepared to labour for a less than gentlemanly income - a change in the expectation of the younger clergy as to what entering the profession would actually mean.⁴⁷

However, not surprisingly, there was only a limited number of such publicly spirited ordinands who had independent means, or who were happy to settle for a career which might mean a standard of living below that considered gentlemanly. Trollope summed up the result of low curates' stipends on the Church as follows, ringing alarm bells that were hardly ever silent about the changing class composition of the clergy:

young men are beginning to know, and the fathers of young men also, what are at present the true conditions of the Church of England as a profession, and they who have been nurtured softly, and who have any choice, will not undergo its trials - and its injustice! For men of a lower class of life, who have come from

⁴⁵ BI, Ord.P. 1835, Deacon, John Cooke Faber.

⁴⁶ BI, Ord.P. 1801, Deacon, Thomas Broadley.

⁴⁷ William Scruton, *Pen and Pencil Pictures of Old Bradford* (Bradford, 1889), p. 35. John James, *The History and Topography of Bradford* (London, 1841), p. 218. Scoresby was granted the whole income when he was licensed (BI, Inst.AB 19 p. 163; Ord.P. 1825, Deacon, William Scoresby). According to *Clerical Guide*, 1836, Bessingby had a net income of £59 with no parsonage house. Rycroft, 'Church Chapel and Community in Craven', p. 118.

harder antecedents, the normal seventy pounds per annum may suffice; but all modern Churchmen will understand what must be the effect on the church if such be the recruits to which the Church must trust.⁴⁸

And indeed those organisations which rose up in answer to the lack of suitable clergy did themselves offer men from the 'lower class of life' who could not normally afford a university education. In Yorkshire the major player was the Elland Clerical Society, the Education Fund of which was founded in 1777 to provide financial assistance and spiritual oversight to serious, evangelical, would-be ordinands who could not afford the expense of a suitable education, giving particular preference to the sons of poor clergymen.⁴⁹ The stated *modus operandi* of the society was that most of its pensioners would be supported through grammar school and then University, 'unless the Society shall think it proper to offer them for orders without a University Education'.⁵⁰ However, although a number of men were supported at University in this period, of the seventeen Elland pensioners who went on to receive orders in York diocese between 1800 and 1849, fifteen of them were not supported at University but were instead prepared for ordination as literate non-graduates. This probably reflects the severe financial constraints under which the Society was working during the 1810s and 1820s. The young men supported by the Elland Society were generally given titles under the patronage of Evangelical clergymen who were connected with the society, thus the society effectively managed to seed large areas of the West Riding with men they had picked, trained and supported, who were dependent on the Society for advancement, and who could be called upon to serve and support the Society in their turn.

PERCEPTIONS OF THE GRADUATE DEFICIT

As yet, diocesan sources have not been fully exploited to create a complete national picture of the numbers of recruits to the church and the proportion of graduates among them, and historians have generally taken on board the assumption of mid-nineteenth century writers that, in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries, graduate clergy were the norm (albeit with brief references to the problems that must have been faced by remoter parts of the country), and that severe recruitment problems began only after mid-century. A study of York diocese's administrative records now shows the exact magnitude of this diocese's graduate recruitment problem at an earlier date, and although York could be considered remote, it was certainly not an insignificant diocese in terms of population or territory, and its experience cannot be easily dismissed as an exception.

One feature of Church reform in the mid-nineteenth century was the increasing focus on collecting statistical information to describe, measure and analyse the state

⁴⁸ Trollope, *Clergymen of the Church of England*, pp. 103-4.

⁴⁹ West Yorkshire Archive Service: Wakefield [hereafter WYAS: Wakefield], C84/1 p.17. There were other clerical education societies at Bristol (founded 1795), Creton (founded 1812), and London (founded 1816).

⁵⁰ WYAS: Wakefield, C84/1 p. 17.

of the Church, and there were numerous efforts made to monitor and measure the nineteenth-century graduate deficit.⁵¹ The *Christian Remembrancer* (1819-68) recorded the names and colleges of ordinands each year. In 1830 it recorded that there had been 440 ordinands for whom educational data was available for all but two. In this year 94.1 per cent of those ordained were graduates of Oxford, Cambridge and Dublin (412 men), 3.9 per cent had entered university but had not graduated (seventeen men) and only 2.1 per cent (nine men) were described as literate, four of these nine having studied at the St Bees Clerical Institution.⁵² Whether this data is at all representative of the church at the time is doubtful to say the least. The data included no ordinations from Canterbury, York, Carlisle, Sodor and Man, St Asaph or St David's, and only a few from Llandaff and Bangor: all those missing, with the exception of Canterbury, were the remoter, poorer dioceses which could be expected to have had the greatest difficulty in attracting graduate clergy, and hence a greater reliance on literate candidates.

The *Convocation of Canterbury Report* of 1876 presented data for the preceding four decades to highlight the perceived nationwide trend of graduate shortage in the 1860s. For 1834-43 it reported that 89.24 per cent of ordinands had been at university, and just 10.76 per cent of them were literates.⁵³ For 1844-53 the figures supplied show that graduates comprised 84.3 per cent of the ordinands. Similarly the data supplied by Thomas Espin in *Our Want of Clergy: Its Cause and Suggestions for its Cure*,⁵⁴ show that literates made up only 7.9 per cent of ordinands in 1841 (forty-eight out of 606 ordinands) but that this had risen to 14.0 per cent (88 out of 622 ordinands) in 1850. Espin looked back to a golden age of clerical standards when 'in old times our two English Universities were the regular and recognised clerical training schools and five sixths of the clergy had graduated in them'.⁵⁵

⁵¹ Arthur Burns, *The Diocesan Revival in the Church of England c.1800-1870* (Oxford, 1999) p. 109.

⁵² Cited in Bullock, *History of Training for the Ministry*, p. 47.

⁵³ Data cited in Brown, *History of the English Clergy*, p. 250. The individual figures given from 1834 do not add up to the amount in the totals column. The percentages above assume that the totals column should read 5,250 rather than 5,350. Bullock, *History of Training for the Ministry*, suggests that the number of ordinands from Durham should read 183 rather than 83. If this is the case the figures above should be 89.44 per cent from the universities (Oxford, Cambridge, Dublin, Durham), and 10.56 per cent literates (including men from colleges).

⁵⁴ This material was also used in the *Church Congress Report* of 1869; Espin had taken his figures from a sermon about clerical destitution by Rev. R. Gregory, incumbent of St Mary's Lambeth. He in turn had taken his figures from the *Ecclesiastical Gazette*, which was founded in 1839. He used the term literate to described men who had not graduated from Oxford, Cambridge, Dublin or Durham.

⁵⁵ Thomas Espin, *Our Want of Clergy: Its causes and suggestions for its cure. A sermon preached before the University of Oxford on 2nd Sunday in Lent, March 1 1863* (Oxford & London, 1863).

The major objective of these reports was to highlight the decreasing number of graduates entering the church at the time of writing. Low graduate recruitment was seen as a new and increasing problem. As Russell has pointed out, there was a growing conviction, particularly from the 1860s, that the most able men were not seeking ordination.⁵⁶ In the 1861 Bampton Lectures, John Sandford, who had for many years been an examining chaplain, reported that he thought fewer really good minds were entering the Church. 'The ablest of our educated classes who used to feed the ministry of the church, confessedly, are being drafted into secular professions'.⁵⁷

In the same decade the *Contemporary Review* of 1867 reported that in 1851-5, 17.8 per cent of ordinands were literate (521 of 2,934 men), but that a decade later, 1861-5, 25.7 per cent (76 out of 2,632) had no degrees.⁵⁸ No one pointed out at the time that at least one diocese, York, and perhaps many more of the northern and Welsh dioceses, had suffered a chronic graduate shortage over a much longer period of time, at times recruiting 70 per cent of their clergymen from amongst those who had not graduated from a University. This may have been an era of tremendous expenditure of effort in data collection, but the purpose was to analyse the present, as a spur to action, not to explore the past.

Historians have continued to follow Victorian commentators in emphasising the struggles and achievements of the mid- and late-nineteenth century and neglecting the difficulties and successes of late-eighteenth and nineteenth-century churchmen. In so doing they have continued to offer a picture of a period of high graduate recruitment to the Church followed by years of decline after 1850.

Brown proposes that between 1663 and 1800 the English clergy 'were graduates without exception', citing evidence from the Norwich subscription books to support his assertion.⁵⁹ Bullock's study of clerical education follows this as he again posits a past when the clergy were all drawn from the ranks of graduates, almost without exception: 'in 1800 nearly all men ordained were graduates of Oxford or Cambridge'.⁶⁰ Chadwick comments that the tradition of the Church of England required an educated and upper-middle class ministry - in short, Latin, Greek and a University degree.⁶¹

More recent work has been more cautious but still seeks to underplay the role of the literate clergyman. O'Day writes that throughout the nineteenth century a substantial majority of ordinands had been to university, and that 80 per cent of new ordinands in the 1830s and 1840s had attended Oxford or Cambridge, but that after this the contribution of the universities declined but remained high. O'Day does note the considerable graduate recruitment problems of the St David's and Chester

⁵⁶ Russell, *Clerical Profession*, p. 242.

⁵⁷ John Sandford, *The Mission and Extension of the Church at Home. Bampton Lectures 1861* (London, 1862), p. 83.

⁵⁸ *Contemporary Review* VI (1867), p. 423, cited in Heeney, p. 133. Men with degrees from Oxford, Cambridge, Dublin and Durham were classed as graduates.

⁵⁹ Brown, *History of the English Clergy*, p. 248.

⁶⁰ Bullock, *History of Training for the Ministry*, p. 144.

⁶¹ Chadwick, *Victorian Church, Part 2*, p. 245.

dioceses, but proposes that these represented ecclesiastical backwaters - the low point rather than the average. Jacob similarly offers the opinion that from the Reformation to 1840, 'Most clergy were graduates. There were exceptions, but in general ... the English Reformers' ambitions to achieve a graduate (if not necessarily a learned) clergy was achieved.'⁶² However, it would seem unwise to dismiss York diocese with its large geographical coverage and vast numbers of parishes, clergy and population, as exceptional and unrepresentative. Although the proportion of graduate ordinands was indeed around 80 per cent in the 1830s and 1840s, this was a new phenomenon as far as York was concerned; the immediate past had seen far lower graduate recruitment, and the 1830s and 1840s were to prove uncharacteristic of the century as a whole.⁶³ As we have already seen, Haig's study led him to believe that graduate recruitment peaked in the 1820s, but this is certainly not the case for York. Knight notes that the nineteenth century was a period of transition in the preparation considered necessary for ordination, with the proportion of graduate clergy declining from the middle of the century, and she follows Chadwick in saying that by 1879 one in six clergy were literates.⁶⁴ Peter Virgin, whilst noting the probable variation between rich and poor dioceses, states that the typical English incumbent whether in the mid-nineteenth century or the mid-seventeenth, was an Oxbridge man.

I would suggest that a closer study of the whole Northern Province, the dioceses of Carlisle, Durham, Chester and York, is needed to supply a necessary corrective to these impressions derived from studies of wealthier, London-centric, elite-attracting dioceses in the Southern Province. York Province comprised a huge area with a vast number of souls, and cannot be lightly dismissed. A study of the nature of clerical provision in this whole area from the border with Scotland down to the counties of Lincoln and Derby, is essential to an understanding of the nature of pastoral care in England in the first half of the nineteenth century.

Even material relating specifically to the York diocese has not considered the situation in the diocese during the first three decades of the nineteenth century. Emmott states that when Queen Victoria came to the throne in 1837 it was assumed that the majority of the clergy would be graduates of Oxford and Cambridge.⁶⁵ Assumed it may have been, but in York at least, the assumption was based only on very recent experience. True, in 1838 only 24.10 per cent of candidates receiving orders were literates, but only ten years previously 42.68 per cent of candidates were non-graduates.⁶⁶ Kirk-Smith's biography of Archbishop Thomson presents material taken from the *Sheffield Daily Telegraph* concerning York ordinations in the period preceding Thomson's episcopate, which began in 1863. For 1841 it reports that only

⁶² O'Day, 'The Clerical Renaissance', p. 191. Jacob, *Clerical Profession*, pp.43-4.

⁶³ In York diocese in the 1830s literates made up 23 per cent of ordinands, but by the 1840s they comprised only 8 per cent.

⁶⁴ Knight, *Nineteenth-Century Church*, p. 110; Chadwick, *Victorian Church, Part 2*, p. 247.

⁶⁵ Douglas Emmott, *Clergy Training in Victorian York: The Schola Archiepiscopi at Bishopthorpe, 1892-1898*, Borthwick Paper 101, (York, 2002).

⁶⁶ Calculated from *YCO, 1800-1849*.

7 per cent of ordinands were literates (512 graduate ordinands and 38 literates).⁶⁷ For 1851 it reported that 21 per cent were now literates (113 literates among 550 ordinands). And by 1861 figures in the *Sheffield Daily Telegraph* showed that 62 per cent of York ordinands did not have degrees. The main thrust of Kirk-Smith's analysis is to show that 'the decline in the standards and quality of the Anglican clergy even by the middle of the nineteenth century was becoming alarming'.⁶⁸ What a close analysis of the decades preceding Thomson's episcopate reveals is that Thomson's recruitment problems were not novel to the diocese. For the period up to 1828 certainly it was not true to say of the York diocese, what has been said of the country as a whole, that literates formed only an insignificant proportion of the clergy. In the diocese of York, a university education could not be said to have been the norm, and the achievement of the last few years of Harcourt's episcopate, and that of Thomas Musgrave, is that graduate recruitment levels were so atypically high.

ARCHBISHOP HARCOURT'S RECRUITMENT POLICY AND THE REGULARIZATION OF TRAINING FOR LITERATES.

It would seem that the actual situation in York diocese in the first few decades of the nineteenth century, and perhaps in many other dioceses, was just not clear to those mid-century writers. It is, however, certain that the archbishop and his staff could not have been unaware of the proportions of literates they were ordaining of necessity. Harcourt did pay personal attention to at least some of his literate candidates for ordinations, and by 1827 had put in place mechanisms for the regulation of their preparation.⁶⁹ But if he did have a fair idea of the magnitude of the problem, there is, perhaps, little surprise that he did not broadcast it. The Victorian Church assumed that one of its great strengths was that its clergy were gentlemen and, despite the attack on what Hurrell Froude described as the 'gentleman heresy' in the 1830s, the majority of clergy and laity continued to believe that a clergyman should be a gentleman, able to mix on equal terms with the gentry and to offer a steadying social influence in his local community.⁷⁰ In an age of constant clamour about inadequate clerical standards, the utility of literates was rarely spoken aloud, and Harcourt's reputation is one of public reticence. As Heeney has pointed out, the actual lack of gentlemen clergy that became apparent in the 1850s

⁶⁷ In fact, figures taken from the Institution Act Books for this period show that 10.6 per cent of those receiving orders this year were literates.

⁶⁸ H. Kirk-Smith, *William Thomson, Archbishop of York. His Life and Times, 1819-90* (London, 1958), p. 52.

⁶⁹ Bullock gives two examples of Harcourt's rather perfunctory meetings with ordinands but on both occasions the archbishop already knew the candidates and their families so these examples cannot be judged as typical of Harcourt's selection methods. Bullock, *History of Training for the Ministry*, p. 73. A letter to the author of an *Inquiry into the Studies and discipline adopted in the two English Universities etc, by a graduate of the University of Oxford*, (London, 1824), asserted that Vernon Harcourt's examinations for deacon's orders were not insignificant and could not be passed after just a few weeks reading: Bullock, p. 38.

⁷⁰ Russell, *Clerical Profession*, p. 244.

and 1860s finally undermined the gentlemanly ideal.⁷¹

As publicly accepted as the gentlemanly norm for clergy might have been, Harcourt's domestic policy on recruitment did not and, so long as there was an actual shortage of graduates offering themselves as candidates, could not, make any demands about the social status and background of its clergy. It is important to bear in mind that a university education was admitted even at the time to be more about providing a common cultural bond than about any particular practical knowledge essential to the exercise of a priest's duties. Harcourt's base line for clerical fitness was quite simply those qualifications laid down in Canon 34: character testimonials and proof of learning sufficient to fulfil priestly duties, judged by examination in the period leading up to ordination. If a man could demonstrate all this, and had been offered a curacy in which to exercise his duty, then he was fit to be ordained. Harcourt seems to have had no problems with ordaining men of low social status. The sons of bricklayers, labourers, mariners, bakers, carpenters, publicans and shoemakers were all ordained in this period. The clerical college of St Bees, which provided many literate candidates for ordination in York, accepted students from a variety of backgrounds. William Ainger, the principal from 1816 to 1840, often gave a personal impression of his students in the covering letters sent with St Bees testimonials for ordination. One such letter, surviving in William Richardson Metcalfe's papers for ordination in 1833, demonstrates a pragmatic view of the candidate's social background, noting that he was a well-prepared scholar but 'rustic in a manner rather more than the ordinary degree, but I presume will be no serious objection in the situation in which he will exercise his ministry'. Metcalfe was going to serve the remote upper Wharfedale chapelry of Hubberholme, to assist an incumbent who was in his eightieth year and no longer able to manage the 'mountain of Horsehead'.⁷² The net value was only £58, and there was no parsonage house. There was little chance of a gentleman wanting this title. As Russell has pointed out, evangelical clergy, who were the norm in the West Riding at this point, were often not accepted as social equals by the gentry partly because of the poverty of their benefices but also because of their ideological viewpoint. The desire of the laity and some clergy for evangelical clergymen may well have been greater than their desire for gentlemen clergy, but one might imagine that given the opportunity they would have preferred both.⁷³

Archbishop Harcourt, it would seem, was a pragmatist and, realising his dependence on literates, embraced the opportunities offered by the operation of independent clerical seminaries in his diocese and harnessed these to provide a method for the selection and pre-ordination training of non-graduates. Some evidence of Harcourt's early attempt to regulate the training of literate ordinands comes from an out-of-diocese source. The 1866 *Bangor Diocesan Year Book* states that Edward Edwards, who had been ordained deacon in the York diocese in July 1821 to serve as curate of Liversedge,

⁷¹ Heeney, *Different Kind of Gentleman*, p. 27.

⁷² BI, Ord.P.1833, Deacon, William Richardson Metcalf.

⁷³ *YCO 1800-1849*, p. viii; Russell, *Clerical Profession*, p. 41.

was 'a literate from the Archbishop of York's Theological Institution'.⁷⁴ We might surmise that this overstates the formality of the situation in 1821, but it does suggest that Harcourt's concerns about the nature of the training his ordinands underwent had some visible effect in the period when St Bees was in its infancy and before St David's, Lampeter, opened for business. By 1827, Harcourt's mechanism for regulating the training of literates had crystallized and at least six clergymen, Thomas Rogers, James Knight, John Barber, William Snowden, John Graham and William Bishop, were officially recognised by the Diocesan as providing approved clerical training.⁷⁵ Harcourt's regulation concerning the education of ordinands is referred to a number of times in candidates' ordination papers. A letter from James Knight in Robert Vason Rogers' ordination papers for priest in 1827 mentions that Rogers had been placed under his tuition by the archbishop.⁷⁶ Since Rogers had spent some time at Oxford but not graduated, we can imagine that Harcourt's advice to him had been to complete his preparation with one of his approved clerical trainers. An 1827 letter from Thomas Rogers to the archbishop in Henry Cooper's papers notes that Cooper's case 'comes strictly within your Lordship's late regulations',⁷⁷ which Henry Dawson thought came into force in July 1827.⁷⁸ Edward Raines' papers for ordination in 1833 mention a letter from the archbishop of June [1833 or 1834] that every person applying for orders 'being a literate only, must have studied for two years at the Clerical Seminary of St Bees, or under one of the clergymen authorised to prepare candidates for orders.'⁷⁹ After it came into force, candidates who had prepared with non-authorised clergymen could not expect their course of studies to be automatically accepted as valid.⁸⁰ It is also interesting to note that this regulation coincided with changes at St Bees college. In the early days of the college it had been common for men to spend just a few months or a year at the college but from about 1825 a residence of two years was expected.⁸¹

Outside the diocese, there was the occasional mention of the advantages of ordaining literate men, although the bulk of the discussion about what should constitute the clergyman's professional preparation jealously guarded the central importance of a university education first. Many suggested that university degrees should be

⁷⁴ Roger L Brown, *Welsh Patriotism and Justice to Wales, The association of Welsh clergy in the West Riding of Yorkshire* (Welshpool, 2001), pp. 10-11.

⁷⁵ Clerical Institutions and Harcourt's authorized tutors for orders will be examined further in S. Slinn, 'Archbishop Harcourt's recruitment of literate clergymen. Part 2: Clerical Seminaries for Literates in the Diocese of York, 1800-1849', *YAJ* 81 (2009).

⁷⁶ BI, Ord.P. 1827, Deacon, Robert Vason Rogers.

⁷⁷ BI, Ord.P. 1827, Deacon, Henry Cooper.

⁷⁸ BI, Ord.P. 1826, Deacon, Henry Dawson (unsuccessful candidate).

⁷⁹ BI, Ord.P. 1834, Priest, Edward John Raines.

⁸⁰ William Battersby had prepared for ordination with Thomas Jessop, the curate of Lowthorpe, but F. Harcourt notes in Battersby's ordination papers that Jessop had not been appointed to prepare candidates and therefore Battersby's certificate was of no value. BI, Ord.P. 1835, Deacon, William Battersby.

⁸¹ BI, Ord.P. 1825, Deacon, John Parker.

supplemented by additional training in parishes, or clerical colleges after graduation. Indeed in 1832, a pamphlet addressed to the Bishop of Llandaff suggested that candidates should spend a year subsequent to graduation with a clergyman, and that the diocesan should distinguish some particular clergymen with his patronage.⁸² Whilst the records do show that there were some graduates in the York diocese who did seek such postgraduate training, Harcourt went one step further: he had authorised such clergymen for the in-parish education of literates since at least 1827. These seminaries were not founded by the archbishop but had grown up as independent commercial enterprises, supported to a certain extent by the agenda of evangelical groups of clergy. However, by putting his seal of approval on certain clerical seminaries, and 'tutors for orders' Harcourt was able to ensure that the graduate-gap in the diocese was partly plugged by a steady and significant supply of literates who had undergone appropriate preparation under the supervision of men who were known to the archbishop.⁸³

⁸² *On Clerical Education, letter addressed to Edward, Lord Bishop of Landaff, by a clergyman* (London, 1832).

⁸³ For a study of institutions for non-graduate ordinands see Part 2 to this article, 'Clerical Seminaries for Literates in York Diocese, 1800-49', forthcoming in *YAJ* 81 (2009).

'IN SMALL THINGS FORGOTTEN': FINDING WOMEN IN THE CLERGY RETURNS OF THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK'S VISITATION IN 1865.

By Ruth M. Larsen

The importance of the clergy returns from the visitations of bishops and archbishops have long been recognised by ecclesiastical scholars and by local historians. However, the usefulness of these documents for many other historians has been overlooked. This paper examines how the returns from the Archbishop of York's visitation in 1865 can be used to explore the roles of women in parishes across the York diocese. It focuses on a number of themes, including women as patrons, educators, charitable workers and members of the congregation. It highlights that, while the discourse of separate spheres was a powerful one for Christians in the nineteenth century, the activities of women in these parishes were not formally delineated by the concepts of 'public' and 'private'. Instead the language used by the clerics was far more subtle, and demonstrates how important women were to the Victorian Church of England.

VISITATION RETURNS

Visitations of parishes were conducted in the Church of England annually by archdeacons and triennially by bishops. Their purpose was initially judicial and administrative, but by the nineteenth century the judicial was merely formal and the pastoral was more important. As part of the process, questionnaires were sent out to all churchwardens and incumbent clergymen. It was usual to require the completed clergy questionnaires to be returned in advance of the episcopal visitation so they could be analysed and made the subject of the Charge delivered by the bishop at the visitation in which he set out his reflections on the state of the Church in his diocese, and raised matters of future policy.¹ Survival of these returns is patchy, partly due to the confidential nature of some of the material contained within them, but more because there was no need for them to be kept once the bishop had analysed their contents. For the diocese of York only two sets of clergy visitation returns survive for the eighteenth century, and none for the nineteenth until the returns for Archbishop Thomson's primary visitation in 1865.² These documents provide an important record of the experiences of the clergy and their thought about their parishes.

¹ For example *Work and Prospects. A charge to the Clergy of the Diocese of York, delivered at his Primary Visitation, in October, 1865, by the Most Reverend William Lord Archbishop of York, Primate of England and Metropolitan* (London, 1865).

² These visitations have been edited and published: *Archbishop Herring's Visitation Returns, 1743*, ed. S.L. Ollard and P.C. Walker, 5 vols, YAS, Record series, 71, 72, 75, 77, 79 (1928-31); *Archbishop Drummond's Visitation Returns 1764*, ed. Cressida Annesley and Philippa M. Hoskin, 3 vols, Borthwick Texts and Calendars, 21, 23, 26 (1997-2001); *Archbishop Thomson's Visitation Returns for the Diocese of York, 1865*, ed. Edward Royle and Ruth M. Larsen, Borthwick Texts and Studies, 34 (2006) [henceforth *Returns 1865*].

The value of visitation returns for ecclesiastical historians has long been recognised, and their importance to local historians has also been acknowledged,³ but this article seeks to explore one of the wider uses that historians might make of them by focusing on the returns to Archbishop Thomson in 1865 to highlight the way in which they can be used by scholars interested in the experiences of women in the nineteenth-century parish. Although visitation documents have been used by medieval and early-modern historians exploring the treatment of women in Church courts, they have rarely been used for more recent women's history.⁴ Visitation returns were written by men for men, so at first it might appear perverse to use such 'masculine' documents for the history of women, especially in the nineteenth century when other documentation can be so rich. However, as Rosemary O'Day notes, much of our understanding of the relationship of women with religious organisations in the nineteenth century is fragmentary, based on the writings of only a limited number of 'notable' women and men.⁵ Returns can, however, be useful to scholars considering the changing status of women in the past, contemporary attitudes towards them, and their roles within urban and rural communities. Often the references to women are incidental, and tend to be about individuals who happened to be women rather than commentaries on the female sex, but, from these comments, these small things forgotten, a number of threads can be picked up, and the stories of ordinary women and the gender dynamics of communities can be explored.

William Thomson came from a middle-class family in Whitehaven, Cumbria. After holding various academic positions at The Queen's College, Oxford, becoming chaplain to the Queen, and holding the post of bishop of Gloucester and Bristol for ten months, he was appointed Archbishop of York in 1863.⁶ His primary visitation reflects both his youthfulness and his theological and pastoral concerns. His questions to the clergy focused on issues such as the teaching of the catechism, education, the frequency of services, the quality of the church building, and charitable collections. His own analysis of the returns and his Charge show a particular interest in the major issues

³ W. J. Sheils, 'Church Court and Visitation Records and the Local History of Religion in the North, 1550-1780, in *Regional Studies in the History of Religion in Britain since the later Middle Ages*, ed. E. Royle (Hull, 1984), pp. 202-14. Studies that have used Visitation returns for Yorkshire include Judith Jago, *Aspects of the Georgian Church: Visitation Studies of the Diocese of York, 1761-1776* (London, 1997) and P.J. Rycroft, 'Church, chapel and community in Craven, 1764-1851', Unpublished D.Phil thesis, University of Oxford, 1988.

⁴ For example: Martin Ingram, *Church Courts, Sex and Marriage in England 1570-1640* (Cambridge 1987); A.J. Finch, 'Crime and marriage in three late medieval ecclesiastical jurisdictions: Cerisy, Rochester and Hereford', Unpublished D.Phil thesis, University of York, 1989; Melissa Hollander, 'Sex in two cities: the formation and regulation of sexual relationships in Edinburgh and York, 1560 to 1625', Unpublished PhD thesis, University of York, 2006.

⁵ Rosemary O'Day, 'Women in Victorian religion', in *Retrieved Riches: Social Investigation in Britain, 1840-1914*, ed. D. Englander and Rosemary O'Day (Aldershot, 1995), p. 339.

⁶ E. I. Carlyle, 'Thomson, William (1819-1890)', rev. H. C. G. Matthew, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford, 2007) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/27330>, accessed 19 May 2008].

of the day concerning the administrative reform of the Church - absenteeism, pluralism, the use of curates, and the pay and accommodation of the clergy. His youthful stamina is evident in the clergy visitation programme itself: with only one day's break, on the Sunday, his visitations ran from the 9-18 October 1865. Based at a different centre each day and starting at 8 am, he summoned his clergy to York, Hull, Beverley, Sheffield, Thirsk, Stokesley, Doncaster, Malton, and Scarborough. His ability to cover such a large area so quickly was aided by the establishment of the network of railways which by 1865 linked the major towns and cities of Yorkshire.

The clergy returns took the form of a list of queries printed on a half sheet of large post blue legal paper, which was folded folio to give a four page leaflet. There were twenty-two questions covering several major themes. The first seven questions concerned the incumbent clergyman himself and his curates (if any). The form then moved on to church services, on Sundays and on weekdays, the frequency of communion services, and the size of the congregations. The queries were also concerned with what collections had been held for charities, local, national, and overseas. Other questions focused on education: the catechism, and the provision of day, Sunday, evening and adult schools. Then followed a section on problems that the clergyman might have faced: Dissent, things that impeded the incumbent's ministry and other concerns to be shared with the archbishop. There were also questions which appeared to check on the responsibilities of the churchwardens, concerning the state of the church fabric, the fitness of the building for service, and whether they were fulfilling their duties.⁷

In total 654 forms were returned to the diocesan office. Of these fifty-three were not completed. Those left blank were largely for chapels associated with churches within larger parishes for which the information had been supplied elsewhere, or for parishes which fell outside the jurisdiction of the visitation.⁸ From the 601 completed forms, it is possible to undertake detailed analysis to highlight a number of themes with regard to the state of the Church in Yorkshire in the mid-nineteenth century. Such a survey shows that pluralism and non-residency were in decline; that incumbents thought that, while their congregations had not decreased in size, they were not a fair proportion of the parish population; that Dissent was a problem in many parishes; and that there was some schooling available to most children in the diocese.⁹ These returns can also be used to highlight the roles of women in the parishes as patrons, educators, charitable workers, and members of the congregation. They also allow the opportunity to explore ways in which parish life worked in the Victorian age, with the frequent dependency of incumbents on their family members, local landowners and volunteers, all of whom could be women.

⁷ The churchwardens were asked a similar question about their clergyman.

⁸ Only two parishes sent no information when it was expected: Marton in Cleveland and Holy Trinity, Wicker, Sheffield; *Returns 1865*, p. xii.

⁹ For a full analysis of the clergy returns see *Returns 1865*, 'Introduction'.

PRIVATE SPHERE AND PUBLIC SPACE

Research over the last forty years has shown the nineteenth century to have been a time when women were playing an increasingly significant part in religious life.¹⁰ The Church enabled them to take an active role without transgressing the boundaries of acceptable behaviour. Numerous historians have highlighted how the concept of separate spheres was powerful throughout the nineteenth century, especially amongst Protestant Evangelicals.¹¹ This ideology could be used to limit the roles that women played in both political and religious matters. The nineteenth century saw the removal of rights and responsibilities from women that they had previously enjoyed. For example, women nominally had the vote until the 1832 Reform Act formally disenfranchised them, although in practice only a limited number of women had exercised their right to vote during the eighteenth century.¹² They had also been overseers of the poor and churchwardens before they were barred by nineteenth-century legislation.¹³ However, although Evangelical thought had encouraged this limitation of the female role, it also gave women opportunities within the Church. Their religious roles were based on their private responsibilities, but could also allow them access to the public world. Christian writers recognised this. The leading Evangelical writer, Hannah Moore, stated that once women had fulfilled their main 'profession' of wife and mother, they could consider undertaking religious and philanthropic work.¹⁴ For some women, such as clergymen's wives, these roles were combined, while others could engage in voluntary societies in the parish, informally assist the incumbent, or help within the Sunday school as part of their Christian duty. Women could also have an influence beyond the parish.

¹⁰ See for example: Olive Anderson, 'Women preachers in mid-Victorian Britain: some reflexions on feminism, popular religion and social change', *Historical Journal* 12.3 (1969), pp. 467-84; Brian Heeney, 'Women's struggle for professional work and status in the Church of England, 1900-1930', *Historical Journal* 26 (1983), pp. 329-47; Dale A. Johnson, 'Gender and the construction of models of Christian activity: a case study', *Church History* 73.2 (2004), pp. 247-71.

¹¹ For example: Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class 1780-1850* (London, 1987); Jane Rendall, *The Origins of Modern Feminism: Women in Britain, France and the United States 1780-1860* (London, 1985). For more general surveys of the separate spheres ideology see L. Kerber, 'Separate spheres, female worlds, woman's place: the rhetoric of women's history', *Journal of American History* 75 (1988), pp. 9-39; Jane Rendall, 'Women and the public sphere', *Gender and History* 11 (1999), pp. 475-488; Amanda Vickery, 'The Golden Age to separate spheres? A review of the categories and chronology of English women's history', *Historical Journal* 36 (1993), pp. 383-404.

¹² Elaine Chalus, *Elite Women in English Political Life c. 1754-1790* (Oxford, 2005), pp. 35-8.

¹³ Jane Rendall, 'The citizenship of women and the reform Act of 1867', in *Defining the Victorian Nation: Class, Race, Gender and the British Reform Act of 1867*, ed. Catherine Hall, Keith McClelland and Jane Rendall (Cambridge, 2000), p. 170.

¹⁴ Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, p. 116.

Writing in the Christian periodical press offered women an opportunity to have a public voice while remaining safely within the bounds of their private sphere.¹⁵ Some women even engaged in the work of the Church overseas, as missionaries for organisations such as the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society.¹⁶ By the latter part of the nineteenth-century it was becoming clear that women were the dominant gender both in congregations and in active charitable work; there was what has been described as 'a feminisation of religion' taking place during the course of the century.¹⁷

The mid-nineteenth century in particular saw a rapid expansion in female religious activity. By the 1860s large numbers of women were involved in Sunday schools, missionary societies, Bible classes, sewing circles and mothers' groups.¹⁸ Women were also beginning to gain employment, full and part-time, voluntary and paid: there were parish visitors, 'parish ladies', members of female religious communities and female 'deaconesses'.¹⁹ The latter, who were not ordained and not the equivalent of male deacons, were new at the time of Archbishop Thomson's visitation: the first Church of England deaconess was Elizabeth Ferard, commissioned by Bishop Tait of London in 1861.²⁰ Olive Anderson suggests that a reason for the growth in female involvement was the new Evangelical awakening experienced in the 1860s on both sides of the Atlantic.²¹ Whilst this had the greatest impact on 'popular' religion, with a dramatic rise in the numbers of female preachers, women also became more actively involved in greater numbers in the established Church of England. The roles that women played, though, were almost exclusively in those areas that could be seen as extensions of their domestic role: working with women, children and the poor. Women of the upper-middle classes were encouraged to prove 'that they could be angels not only in the house, but in shacks, dens and brothels as well'.²² While this female involvement did undoubtedly bring them out of their homes, it did not explicitly challenge either social conventions or

¹⁵ Julie Melnyk, 'Women's theology in the British periodical press', in *Reinventing Christianity: Nineteenth-century Contexts*, ed. Linda Woodhead (Aldershot, 2001), pp. 191-8.

¹⁶ Judith Rowbotham, '"Hear an Indian sister's plea": reporting the work of 19th-century British female missionaries', *Women's Studies International Forum*, 21:3 (1998), pp. 250-1.

¹⁷ Heeney, 'Women's struggle' p. 329; Johnson, 'Gender and the construction of models', pp. 247-71.

¹⁸ Anderson, 'Women preachers', p. 468.

¹⁹ Anderson, 'Women preachers', pp. 479-81; Martha Vicinus, *Independent Women: Work and Community for Single Women, 1850-1920* (Chicago, 1985) pp. 46-84.

²⁰ Heeney, 'Women's struggle', p. 33; and his *The Women's Movement in the Church of England, 1850-1930* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 68-74.

²¹ Anderson, 'Women preachers', pp. 479-81; Ralph Brown, 'Victorian Anglican evangelicalism: the radical legacy of Edward Irving', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 58.4 (2007), pp. 675-705.

²² Olive Anderson, 'The growth of Christian militarism in mid-Victorian Britain', *English Historical Review* 86 (1971), p. 59.

the Biblical teaching that women should be silent in church.²³ The Biblical ideal woman was Dorcas, who was 'full of good works and alms deeds'.²⁴ The deaconesses, missionaries and writers in Christian journals usually worked under male supervision, or stressed that their labours were natural and part of the 'lowly sphere assigned to them by God'.²⁵ By using the language of domestic duties and working alongside the clergy in their communities, women were able to exploit contradictions in Evangelical theology in order to negotiate for themselves a role in the Christian public sphere.²⁶ This allowed them to play an active part in parish life, as can be seen in Archbishop Thomson's 1865 clergy visitation returns.

PATRONS AND LANDOWNERS

The aristocracy and gentry played an important part in the Church in the nineteenth century; younger sons often became clergymen and had a good chance of promotion to the higher echelons of the Church. David Cannadine suggests that during the first three-quarters of the nineteenth century approximately half of the bishops of England had aristocratic connections.²⁷ Even those incumbents who were not related to the aristocracy often had a formal link with them through the patronage system, and every country clergyman felt the influence, for good or ill, of the local lord of the manor and other prominent landowners.²⁸ There was an expectation on the part of the clergyman that local landowners and other wealthy individuals would support him in his work, both financially and by example. Lay patrons, who held the advowson - the right of presentation to an incumbency - were, in the diocese of York, drawn principally from this landed elite. About a third of parishes in the archdiocese of York had private individuals named as patrons, of whom at least ninety were titled.²⁹ Sixteen advowsons were in the gift of Earl Fitzwilliam and nine were held by Lord Londesborough. At least twenty-two parishes had female patrons, just ten per cent, rather less than the fifth suggested as the national average by Knight.³⁰ A good patron was expected to give financial support both for building a parsonage and repairing the church. Where a church was not a rectory the great tithes went to a lay rector, some of whom - as at Adlingfleet, for example - were women. He or she was supposed to maintain the chancel and might be expected to do more. Incumbents

²³ For example: 1 Corinthians 14:34 and 1 Timothy 2:11.

²⁴ Acts 9:36.

²⁵ William Pennefather (1816-73), quoted in Anderson, 'Women preachers', p. 468; Brown, 'Victorian Anglican evangelicalism', pp. 675-705.

²⁶ Alison Twells, '"Let us begin well at home": class, ethnicity and Christian motherhood in the writing of Hannah Kilham, 1774-1832', in *Radical Femininity: Women's Self-Representation in the Public Sphere*, ed. Eileen Yeo (Manchester, 1998), p. 26.

²⁷ David Cannadine, *The Decline and Fall of the British Aristocracy*, revised edition (London, 1992), p. 256.

²⁸ The classic study of this is Owen Chadwick, *Victorian Miniature*, (London, 1960).

²⁹ *York Diocesan Calendar, Clergy List and Church Almanack*, (York, 1866).

³⁰ F. Knight, *The Nineteenth-Century Church and Society*, (Cambridge 1995) p. 158. The basis for this estimate is not clear.

felt badly let down when they felt the local elite was not doing its 'duty'. The concern expressed at length by Rev John Munby at Hovingham in his visitation return reflected both his frustration at the lack of support and what he considered the obstructive behaviour offered by the Worsley family, and he looked (without much success) to his patron at Castle Howard instead.³¹ Others who had difficulties with their local elites included Francis Peel at Burghwallis who was prevented from restoring his church,³² and the officiating minister of Sancton, who struggled with the 'obstructive influence of the Roman Catholic Patron'.³³

It was clearly recognised by incumbents that patrons and members of the local elite could have a significant impact both on their own experiences in the parish, and on the conduct of the local community. Parishes without a dominant group of resident landowners supporting the Church were liable to the depredations of Dissent and a decline in traditional rural social relations.³⁴ A resident gentry family could therefore exercise a significant degree of power in the parish, and the lord of the manor (male or female) could be a pivotal figure. For example, Teresa Newcomen of Kirkleatham Hall, lord of the manor and patron of East Coatham, supported schools both there and at Kirkleatham.³⁵ Elite women, especially when wealthy heiresses or widows like Mrs Newcomen, were also important for raising funds for the rebuilding or repair of the church fabric. At Welton, Sophia Broadley of Welton House covered the £6,000 cost of rebuilding the church in 1862-3, and at Rudston Lady Middleton gave the church two chancel windows in memory of her parents.³⁶ An incumbent could accept a woman as an influential figure within his parish provided she was of sufficient social status and confined herself to areas of activity that were considered appropriate. As K.D. Reynolds notes, while middle-class women sought to 'escape' the confines of their home through philanthropy, it was an expected part of an elite woman's duty that she should act in a 'maternal capacity' towards the people of her or her family's estate.³⁷

WOMEN AS PARISH WORKERS

Women without the means to be 'ladies bountiful' could still be actively involved in their parishes, especially in support of the incumbents' pastoral duties.³⁸ The mid-Victorian period marked a time when there was an acknowledgement that lay workers could play an increasingly important part in religious activities. It was thought that they would be especially useful in the church's mission to the poorer sections of the

³¹ *Returns 1865*, pp. 210-3.

³² *Returns 1865*, pp. 27-8.

³³ *Returns 1865*, pp. 365-6.

³⁴ J.V. Beckett, *The Aristocracy in England 1660-1914* (Oxford, 1986), p. 470.

³⁵ *Returns 1865*, pp. 100, 257.

³⁶ *Returns 1865*, pp. 466-7, 362-3.

³⁷ K. D. Reynolds, *Aristocratic Women and Political Society in Victorian Britain* (Oxford, 1998) p. 71.

³⁸ Heeney, 'Women's struggle', p. 336.

community, in the belief that behind each rough exterior lay a potentially good Christian waiting to be rescued.³⁹ The 1860s were a time of optimism about the long term situation of the labouring classes as writers highlighted the improving social and political condition of the workers, and hoped that with appropriate support their position could improve further.⁴⁰ Women in particular were encouraged to set an example by their own refinement and sensibility to improve the morals of the working man.⁴¹ At St George's, Sheffield, women distributed tracts in the local community.⁴² The St George's incumbent, though, was not completely satisfied with their efforts, believing that as ladies, 'they cannot enter into cases so minutely', and suggesting that a few extra better educated and more theologically aware male Scripture Readers would be more effective. If the incumbent at St George did not appreciate his forty tract distributors, it is a pity he did not send some to St Jude Moorfields, Sheffield, where John Johnson noted that he was 'greatly in need of the help of women. I can get men but very few women as visitors. ... One or two mission women would be of inestimable value to me.'⁴³ In two parishes, collections were made for Bible Women, reflecting some limited acceptance of the new movement for supporting female evangelists working with the poor.⁴⁴ There were also female groups, especially Mothers' Meetings, in a number of the parishes.⁴⁵ These and other voluntary activities allowed women to play an active role in the Church and the parish. Though they were often limited to what was seen as suitable for women, being concerned with care, help and maternal duties, these did offer a distinct role within the Church for women and one of value to the community.

WOMEN AND EDUCATION

The most common way in which women appeared in the visitation returns was through their work and assistance in the schools of the parishes. A number of schools were supported by charities and endowments set up by women. Two major educational charities set up in Yorkshire in the eighteenth century, Lady Hewley's Charity⁴⁶ and Lady Hastings' endowments,⁴⁷ were central to the continuing

³⁹ Anderson, 'The growth of Christian militarism', p. 58.

⁴⁰ Anne Anderson, 'Victorian high society and social duty: the promotion of 'recreative learning and voluntary teaching'', *History of Education* 31.4 (2002), p. 315.

⁴¹ Anderson, 'Victorian high society and social duty', p. 313.

⁴² *Returns 1865*, pp. 6-7, 385-6.

⁴³ *Returns 1865*, p. 389; emphases in the original.

⁴⁴ *Returns 1865*, pp. 85, 22; Heeney, 'Women's struggle', p. 331.

⁴⁵ Whitby, for example: *Returns 1865*, p. 476.

⁴⁶ Lady Sarah Hewley (1627-1710) was a Nonconformist benefactress from York. Her charity was set up in 1704 for a variety of purposes, including the maintenance of schools in a number of parishes; P. J. Withington, 'Hewley, Sarah, Lady Hewley (1627-1710)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004), [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13156>, accessed 19 May 2008].

⁴⁷ Lady Elizabeth Hastings (1682-1739), of Ledstone Hall, philanthropist and promoter of religion and education in Yorkshire; Anita Guerrini, 'Hastings, Lady Elizabeth (1682-1739)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004) [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12564>, accessed 19 May 2008].

provision of schools in several parishes. Elite women also supported schools in their own lifetimes: Mary Isabella Dawnay, Viscountess Downe, supported at least five parish schools.⁴⁸ On a lesser but more typical scale, Elizabeth Reynard, wife of the lord of the manor of Sunderlandwick, helped support the sewing school in Hutton Cranswick.⁴⁹ Nationally a few elite women even involved themselves directly as 'dedicated helpers in their schools, recognising this as part of their social and Christian duty.'⁵⁰ However, the degree of interest shown by local female patrons was not necessarily well-regarded by the incumbents. At Marton-le-Moor, the village of Marton was not only split across two parishes, Marton-le-Moor and Kirby Hill, but also between two dioceses, with Kirby Hill falling in the diocese of Ripon. The local landowner, Lady Mary Vyner of Newby Hall, insisted that the vicar of Kirby Hill should manage the school in Marton, thus limiting the influence of the incumbent of Marton-le-Moor.⁵¹ The clergy's experience of their local elites often differed, even of the same local landowning family. While the Rev. B. B. Newenham, curate of Bilton, praised Mrs Penelope York of Wighill Park for her 'charitable personal disinterestedness' in building a church in one of his townships,⁵² the Rev. Alfred Hiley of Wighill found her far too interested in his local village school. He noted that:

The School is a Government School but the clergyman of the Parish had nothing to do with the management and has therefore no responsibility. It is due to state that the school was established by the exertions of Mr York's mother, that she takes great interest in it, and being proud and fond of power, I mean to keep quiet in her life-time.⁵³

This silent approach appears to have been the safest strategy in many cases, as members of the local elite were prone to seeing the school as their own domain, leaving many parents and other parishioners unable to criticise either the teachers or the management of the institution.⁵⁴

Some parishes had a school providing education for both boys and girls, usually with a master and mistress though in some places a mistress was in charge of both; and in other places there were separate schools for boys and girls, only the latter being under a mistress. Where the relationship between squire, clergyman and teachers worked well, it could be a boon to the parish, as at Garton on the Wolds where the 'efficient master and mistress' were supported by Sir Tatton Sykes of Sledmere.⁵⁵

⁴⁸ The schools were in the parishes of Baldersby, Dansby, West Heslerton, Hutton Buscel and Sherburn: *Returns 1865*, pp. 29, 113, 199, 233, 396.

⁴⁹ *Returns 1865*, p. 234.

⁵⁰ Reynolds, *Aristocratic Women*, p. 91.

⁵¹ *Returns 1865*, p. 289.

⁵² *Returns 1865*, p. 50.

⁵³ *Returns 1865*, p. 485.

⁵⁴ Anne, Duchess of Athole (1814-1897), closely oversaw the school that she set up in Dunkeld, Perthshire, in 1854, and was described as being 'practically our School Board' by local parishioners. Reynolds, *Aristocratic Women*, pp. 94-6.

⁵⁵ *Returns 1865*, p. 171.

Often a married couple worked together as teachers but where there was a mistress on her own she was likely to be unmarried or a widow. Some were formally trained, with a certificate from the diocesan Female Training College, opened at Ripon in 1862, but others were local women trying to earn money running a small village school. Such were the miner's wife at Lazenby near Wilton and the shepherd's wife at Cowlam.⁵⁶ Sometimes the schoolmistress was accorded some status and played an important part in parish life as a supporter of the clergyman's work; at Barton, the mistress lived at the Rectory.⁵⁷ Not all clergymen, though, had a positive relationship with their school mistresses. The quality of teaching could be variable, and often the pay was insufficient to keep a decent mistress in place. At Elsternwick the school was 'very inefficient from age of mistress', and the incumbent of Westow thought the National School 'small and badly mistressed'.⁵⁸ It was not until the mid-nineteenth century that formal training was made available to women who wanted to be teachers; this was both expensive and exclusive.⁵⁹ The majority of female teachers in the parishes across the York diocese would therefore have been either former pupil-teachers or would have received no formal training at all.⁶⁰ Removing an inadequate teacher could be difficult, even when, as at Thwing, the clergyman himself controlled the school. In this case the local farmer at the Manor House was related to the ousted teacher, and was in dispute with the church over the school property. Meanwhile the incumbent sent her replacement to the new college at Ripon for training.⁶¹ At Bradfield the ill health and inefficiency of the mistress meant that few local parents were willing to send their children to her school.⁶² Here, however, there was little the clergyman could do, as a member of the local gentry, Mrs Rimington, continued to pay the mistress £10 per annum and regarded the school as her own private concern.

Some schools mentioned by the clergy in the returns were not parish schools as such but were run by individuals, largely untrained, for what income they could get from them. These were a common feature of the mid-Victorian educational landscape, and approximately a quarter of all children were educated in 'private' schools such as these.⁶³ 'Dame schools', the name given to private schools run by women for young children, featured in a number of the parishes. These tended to offer only a limited education, with a strong emphasis on domestic skills. Government inspectors were highly critical of them, describing them as a 'national menace'; however they did play an important role within village communities,

⁵⁶ *Returns 1865*, pp. 488, 105.

⁵⁷ *Returns 1865*, p. 36.

⁵⁸ *Returns 1865*, pp. 229, 468.

⁵⁹ Joyce Senders Pederson, 'Schoolmistresses and headmistresses: elites and education in nineteenth-century England', *Journal of British Studies* 15.1 (1975), p. 147.

⁶⁰ June Purvis, *Hard Lessons. The Lives and Education of Working-Class Women in Nineteenth-Century England* (Oxford, 1989) p. 38.

⁶¹ *Returns 1865*, pp. 447-8.

⁶² *Returns 1865*, p. 62.

⁶³ Andrina Styles, *Religion, Society and Reform 1800-1914* (London, 1995), p. 53.

providing education and care for the children of poor rural workers.⁶⁴ Dame schools had few formal links with the Church. The one at Adlingfleet was unusual in having significant financial support from St Catharine's College, Cambridge, the Lord of the Manor, and the female lay Rector.⁶⁵ The women who ran these schools were usually looked down upon or ignored in the visitation returns because they were not seen as part of the mission of the Church.

Those women who volunteered their time to educate older children and adults tended to be more supported by the clergy. There was a growing desire to ensure that, once people had left the formal schooling system, they should still continue to receive a religious education in the parish. Many of the visitation returns note how difficult this was, as young people frequently left their parishes at the age of fourteen to go into domestic or farm service. In their new parishes, or even if they remained in their old parishes, work, tiredness or the alternative appeals of 'adult' leisure kept them from attending evening classes. There was also a lack of volunteers to run these sessions. If the local schoolmaster were unwilling and the clergyman unable, the responsibility tended to fall on the women of the parish, including the clergyman's own family. At Birkin it was the rector's daughters who catechised in the Sunday school and ran an evening class in the rectory, with great success.⁶⁶ In York, it was the presence of 'Lady Teachers' at St Thomas's that helped retain girls in the Sunday School.⁶⁷ Young females were in general more likely to attend classes regularly than young males: in Darnall it was noted that the young women tended to continue with some level of education until they got married.⁶⁸ At Tadcaster, however, 'Boys are more easily retained than Girls, as the latter go out to service so very early and are soon attracted to the large manufacturing towns by the higher wages to be had there'.⁶⁹ Weekly Bible classes were offered in many places for both sexes, as at Doncaster and Hull where in each case the women's class was larger than the men's.⁷⁰ An engagement with further education appears to have been especially popular in larger settlements, where Mechanic's Institutes and similar organisations were founded as part of the nineteenth-century movement to educate the working classes.⁷¹ From 1839 the York Institute had been encouraging members to bring female friends to lectures, and by 1842 it was noted that a third of audiences at lectures comprised women.⁷² The Yorkshire Union of Mechanic Institutes encouraged other towns to

⁶⁴ J. H. Higginson, 'Dame schools', *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 22 (1974), p. 180; J. McDermid, 'Women and education', *Women's History: Britain 1850-1945* ed. J. Purvis (London 1995), p. 116.

⁶⁵ *Returns 1865*, p. 7.

⁶⁶ *Returns 1865*, p. 53.

⁶⁷ *Returns 1865*, p. 522.

⁶⁸ *Returns 1865*, pp. 113-4.

⁶⁹ *Returns 1865*, p. 430.

⁷⁰ *Returns 1865*, pp. 120, 223.

⁷¹ Purvis, *Hard Lessons*, pp. 99-127.

⁷² Simon Morgan, *A Victorian Woman's Place. Public Culture in the Nineteenth Century* (London, 2007), pp. 52-3.

follow York's lead. The Church also took note and organised secular evening classes. Though the visitation returns show that these were often only for men and boys, the successful Sheffield Church Institute reportedly 'drew young persons of both sexes'.⁷³

The importance of education to the clergy's mission was expressed most often through the provision of Sunday schools, in which women frequently played a leading part. At Butterwick for, example, when the incumbent wanted a Sunday school, he urged his farmers' daughters to start one.⁷⁴ While most religious groups ran Sunday schools, Church of England schools accounted for about two thirds of those identified in the Newcastle Commission Report (1861), though they were mainly the smaller ones in rural parishes.⁷⁵ These schools were especially important for teaching the Church Catechism, as well as offering educational opportunities to those children and young people who worked during the week; for many poorer children it was the only education that they received.⁷⁶ Women were central in offering this provision, and by 1889 there were 100,000 female teachers in these institutions.⁷⁷ It is not surprising to observe that a number of these schools were run by relatives of the incumbent: the vicar's wife sponsored and ran the Sunday school in Aughton, for example, while the incumbent's daughter managed the school in Stokesley.⁷⁸ Along with the nurturing role of mother it was accepted that education was one of the duties for which women were peculiarly fitted and could properly fulfil. While there continued to be some concern about women working as trained, professional teachers, and the idea of women teaching older males was unacceptable in most Victorian circles, the role of the Christian educator of the young was, within careful parameters, seen as an acceptable way for women to contribute to parish life.⁷⁹

WOMEN AS MEMBERS OF THE CONGREGATION

There appears to have been an expectation that women would be more regular members of the congregation than their male counterparts; this was part of a national pattern, and was noted in a number of the returns.⁸⁰ When women did not attend it caught the attention of the clergy. The incumbent at Hawnby blamed his smaller congregations in bad weather on the fact that women were unable to travel the half mile to the

⁷³ *Returns 1865*, p. 383.

⁷⁴ *Returns 1865*, p. 87.

⁷⁵ The Church of England accounted for 22,236 schools out of a total of 33,872, with 1,092,822 pupils out of the total of 2,411,554. Figures cited in Purvis, *Hard Lessons*, p. 77.

⁷⁶ Styles, *Religion, Society and Reform*, p. 52.

⁷⁷ Heeney, 'Women's struggle', p. 331.

⁷⁸ *Returns 1865*, pp. 25, 421. This was a pattern that has been noted nationally in Heeney, 'Women's struggle', p. 330.

⁷⁹ For a discussion of changing attitudes towards female teachers see Dina M. Copelman, *London's Women Teachers: Gender, Class and Feminism 1870 - 1930* (London, 1996), esp. pp. 3-31; Christina De Bellaigue, 'The development of teaching as a profession for women before 1870', *Historical Journal* 44:4 (2001), pp. 963-88.

⁸⁰ For example *Returns 1865*, pp. 263-4, 494; Johnson, 'Gender and the construction of models', pp. 247-71.

church in these circumstances.⁸¹ The reason given for the smaller morning congregations at St Michael's, Whitby, was that 'the wives of sea men are often obliged to remain at home on a Sunday morning', presumably to await their husbands returning from a night's fishing.⁸² The impact of work and familial commitments also limited women's opportunities to engage with the Church at other times: women and children working in the flax and potato fields almost all the year round impeded the ministry of George Wade at Eastoft, and the demands of lodgers prevented women going to church in Grosmont.⁸³ The incumbent at Dringhouses, a parish on the outskirts of York, noted that, because the wives of market gardeners were helping their husbands at the York market on a Saturday evening, they were not attending church the following day.⁸⁴ Nineteenth-century Evangelical concepts of the woman as the 'angel in the house' portrayed her as the source of virtue for the family, to whom the man, contaminated by his activities in the public sphere, could return for spiritual solace.⁸⁵ Culturally and socially there was, therefore, an expectation that women would be regular church-goers, and these comments in the visitation returns reflect the need to explain the absence of women from the congregation.⁸⁶

Such criticisms of female absence from church, though, were fairly minor compared to what was said about some women elsewhere in the returns. A number specifically highlighted the loose morals of women in the parish. In York there were 'bad women at night' and 'houses of ill fame' in the parish of St Sampson, York, a parish which included the market area and the notorious 'Grape Lane'.⁸⁷ Urban life was seen as a particular problem, both by those completing visitation returns and more generally by contemporary social commentators,⁸⁸ but these threats to female morals were not exclusive to the towns. In the rural parish of Etton, the return stressed the general lack of chastity amongst young female farm servants; and at Dalton Holme the incumbent was concerned about men sleeping at their intended bride's house before marriage in order to avoid the cost of reading the banns in the man's church.⁸⁹ At Hayton-cum-Beilby, the incumbent expressed his concerns at length, because:

At Everingham Lord Herries (a Romanist) Landlord will nor permit his Cottagers to live unmarried, nor to bring home their Daughters to be confined so that perhaps is one of the most moral villages in the Riding. In other places this crime is looked upon as only the correct and usual process. In this most respectable Village (Hayton) in other respect nothing is thought of the young women adding to the numbers of their parents' families. One man has four Daughters; the eldest came home at 20 to have a

⁸¹ *Returns 1865*, p. 189.

⁸² *Returns 1865*, p. 478.

⁸³ *Returns 1865*, pp. 130, 181.

⁸⁴ *Returns 1865*, p. 125.

⁸⁵ Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, pp. 114-8.

⁸⁶ Heeney, 'Women's struggle', p. 329; O'Day, 'Women in Victorian religion', pp. 340-3.

⁸⁷ *Returns 1865*, pp. 520-1.

⁸⁸ Morgan, *A Victorian Woman's Place*, pp. 51, 86-7.

⁸⁹ *Returns 1865*, pp. 111-2, 145.

Child, she had a second here afterwards. The second came home at 20 for the same purpose, she had four in all. The third and fourth also came home at 20 and had but one each before marriage. This is the fashion. If the Squire had discharged the Parents when the first birth took place perhaps all the other Daughters might have been saved. This family may be said to have set the fashion and now alas nearly all as bad. Two years since one of the chief farmers did likewise. If Lord Herries can keep his Village moral, I think other landlords may.⁹⁰

The young female here is presented as someone needing strong parental care and if her plebeian parents were unwilling or unable to give this guidance it should be the duty of the local landowner to impose morality on his tenants. It should be noted how the failings of female morality are shown throughout the returns as not so much the result of deliberate acts of immorality by the young women themselves as the product external circumstances such as the system of hiring farm servants or the absence of moral and social control in the community at large. Such paternalistic attitudes provide an interesting commentary on clerical attitudes towards the autonomy of young females in their parishes.

However, not all incumbents could criticise the actions of the young women in their parish from this moral high ground. In Pickering, the incumbent, G.A. Cockburn, was suspended at the time of the visitation; the return makes little mention of the reasons for this, with the officiating clergyman noting only that the parish was in need of a permanent incumbent.⁹¹ Further research, however, shows that in July 1864 Cockburn, a family man, had been suspended for five years for having, between September 1862 and August 1863, brought the church into disrepute by a brazenly flirtatious and almost certainly adulterous relationship with a young parishioner, Jenny Wardall.⁹² Although this had an impact on parish life, with a decline in the congregation and an unscheduled change of local vicar, the absence of comment in both the return and the churchwarden's report is of note. To the parishioners this was as much a cause for amusement as scandal, to be commented on more for who had done it than what he had done. By 1865 it was yesterday's news, and the Archbishop was already fully informed of the details of the case. The apparent failings of the incumbent and one of his female parishioners were not scrutinised again, and the 'affair' was tactfully ignored.

CONCLUSION

What the visitation returns suggest is that female involvement in the Church was encouraged in a number of different areas: in providing financial support for the fabric of the church and its schools; in volunteering to support the clergy in its missions and in assisting with the education of parishioners, especially girls and young women. These roles were seen in the nineteenth century as traditionally

⁹⁰ *Returns 1865*, pp. 38-9.

⁹¹ *Returns 1865*, pp. 336-7.

⁹² *Returns 1865*, pp. 336-7.

female, duties which complemented the women's domestic dedication and position within the (very porous) private sphere. Where there were criticisms of women, it generally related to behaviour that was linked to their involvement in the public spheres, such as at urban markets and in rural work, or highlighted their moral failings. However, although the ideology of separate spheres was apparent in the attitudes of the clergy towards women, it was not consistently applied. The language of public and private was very rarely used, and the formal public activities of some women, as patrons and schoolmistresses for example, were encouraged. Instead, what the visitations show is the multitude of both female roles and clerical attitudes towards them. What one can see is something far more subtle in Church responses towards women's involvement in the parish than those which tended to appear in formal statements about the position of women in the Church. The many different answers to the visitation questions show a variety of voices and individuals in the Church, shaping and managing parish life. The clergy visitation returns show how women played their part in this. The role of women in the Church, like the clergy returns themselves, is often overlooked by historians, but in these returns the many small tasks undertaken by women in Church and parish life can be uncovered, and not left as small things forgotten.

RICHARD CONYERS OF HELMSLEY - THE ADVENTURES OF AN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY MEMOIR

By Quentin Harcourt Wilson

In October 1794 the Evangelical Magazine, a periodical produced by and for the growing Evangelical party within the Church of England, published a number of pieces, including a substantial Memoir, concerning the Revd Richard Conyers (1725-86), who had been Vicar of Helmsley from 1755 to 1776, and then Rector of Deptford for the last ten years of his life. Until recently there was no reason for believing that these various pieces were linked by anything other than their availability to the 1794 editors. However, the discovery of a handwritten version of this text in the possession of the present Vicar of Helmsley, together with an 1872 'edition' or 'reprint' of the Memoir, held in the York Minster Library, raises interesting questions about the text and how late Victorian Evangelicals looked upon their own history. On the one hand, there is no doubt that they revered their spiritual forebears: on the other - if what has happened here is any indication - they felt no special constraints in editing the records to suit their particular purpose. The intention of the present article is present the original text with the 1872 abridgement and in so doing to illustrate how one generation can develop and impose its own narrative on the past.

INTRODUCTION

The Revd Richard Conyers (1725-86), is a significant figure in the early history of the eighteenth-century evangelical 'awakening' within the Church of England. Often obscured by the growth of Methodism, this expression of evangelical Christianity remained firmly rooted within the Established Church, giving rise to the 'Clapham Sect' and the stirring of Christian consciences to secure the abolition of slavery. Richard Conyers is important in that development, for he was himself closely identified by marriage, friendship and conviction with several who later formed the inner circle of that group.

Conyers' name is not forgotten in the standard histories of this period, but so far the detail necessary to produce a satisfactory biography has proved elusive. Leonard W. Cowie, writing on Richard Conyers for the *Dictionary of National Biography*, and A. Pollard in the *Blackwell Dictionary of Evangelical Biography, 1730-1860*, give the most comprehensive of readily-available accounts, while J. D. Walsh's unpublished Cambridge PhD thesis, 'The Yorkshire Evangelicals', contains material both interesting and relevant. The 1794 *Evangelical Magazine* 'Memoir' article for Conyers (or possibly Isaac Cooper's derivative version of this from 1872), together with primary sources offered by George Cussons' *Memoir* (incorporating letters written by Richard and Jane Conyers) and contemporary materials preserved in the *Helmsley Parish Magazine* for 1872, are used by John McDonnell in Chapter XII of the 1963 *History of Helmsley, Rievaulx and District*. A. C. Seymour's *The Life and Times of Selina*,

Countess of Huntingdon of 1840 contains a number of useful occasional references to Conyers, but the more continuous biographical passages are taken bodily from the *Evangelical Magazine* obituary article of 1794.

Other sources, however, have recently emerged. The Vicar of Helmsley, North Yorkshire, possesses a manuscript 'Memoir' - part of which is reproduced in the body of this article. This material, together with previously uncoordinated sources held in the Brynmor Jones Library in the University of Hull, and the Helmsley Parish Records held in the North Yorkshire Record Office at Northallerton, throws new light on this interesting eighteenth-century Yorkshire clergyman. The three principal sources in the Hull Archives are a Book of Household Accounts dating from 1769, and belonging originally to Mrs Jane Conyers, catalogued at DDCV 2 78/2; and amongst the John Conyers Hudson Papers a leather-bound notebook originally belonging to Christopher Conyers (DDCV 212/55) and a typewritten family tree (DDCV 212/68). Other sources already available are Conyers' Will (PRO, PROB 11/1142 sig. 269); his Sermon for 25 June 1764 and various editions of his *Hymns* (from 1767) together with material from the 1764 Visitation Returns in the Borthwick Institute, and occasional references in John Wesley's *Journal* and John Newton's correspondence. The first part of the *Memoir of Mr George Cussons of London*, incorporating a number of Conyers' letters, an obituary notice in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 23 April 1786, and the funeral *Sermons* of 30 April (Thomas Scott at the Lock-Chapel) and 7 May 1786 (John Newton at St Paul's, Deptford), remain the principal near-contemporary accounts of his life, opinions and activities. Finally, an 1872 reprint of the *Memoirs* (York Minster Library) adds an interesting, though necessarily speculative, suggestion as to the later interpretation and authorship of these documents.

The manuscript 'Memoir' is a bound volume with an embossed brown cover measuring 5 by 7³/₄ inches (127 x 196 mm). Pasted on the front is a label measuring 4³/₄ by 3¹/₄ inches (120 x 82 mm) inscribed *The Property of the / Benefice of Helmsley*. Inside the front cover is pasted a bookplate of R. Conyers measuring 2¹/₄ by 2³/₄ inches (57 x 70 mm), while on the flyleaf (recto) is pasted: *This valuable memoir / of the Rev: Richard Conyers, / Once Vicar of this parish, / is left in the care of / the Vicar of Helmsley. (York). 27th May 1913*

On the flyleaf (verso) is an engraving of Richard Conyers, L.L.D. measuring 4⁵/₈ by 5⁷/₁₆ inches (117 x 138 mm). This is surmounted by a scrap of paper measuring 3¹/₈ by ⁷/₈ inches (79 x 22 mm) bearing what may be an original signature: 'Richard Conyers' A loose glossy photograph of the engraving accompanies the book - a larger version of which hangs in Helmsley Church.

The book consists of units of four folded sheets of paper stitched into eleven sixteen-page sections. With an additional unit of two folded leaves (two of the pages thus formed being pasted into the front and back covers), a total of 180 pages are available. Rather more than half have been used, but the (unnumbered) pages 108-180 have not been employed. A printed version of John Newton's *Sermon* on Conyers' death is bound into the back of the book.

The resulting volume probably did not assume its present form until more recently, possibly as late as 1913. The embossed cover seems more typical of the later-nineteenth century, whilst the guillotined edges suggest that the cutting and

binding were undertaken when the printed pages were added.

The contents of this book fall into well-defined sections, in different hands:

a) Memoir of Richard Conyers (pages 1 - 72)

This is by far the most substantial contribution to the book, written in a fluent hand. The long form of a median "S" is used, together with such occasional idiosyncrasies in spelling and punctuation as suggest pre-Victorian origins. The author himself seems closely identified with Helmsley, and the description of Conyers' early ministry there, his conversion, visitation sermon, friendship with John Thornton, marriage and events until his move to Deptford, seem more assured than the more circumstantial account of the London years. Though he had on several occasions heard Conyers in Deptford, he did not realize that the archidiaconal visitation sermon that caused Conyers such distress took place in Dartford, not Deptford. Again, for these years, as well as for his final reflections on Conyers' ministry, the author was clearly dependent on the text of John Newton's *Sermon* of 7 May 1786. The plural 'Memoirs' of the title seems deliberate - indeed part of the rationale of the document. As first conceived it included (a) and also:

b) Epitaph inscribed on Dr Conyers' Tomb-stone (pages 72-73),

c) Lines on the Death of Mrs Jane Conyers (pages 74-78),

d) The Experience and Hope of the Rev. Dr. Conyers (page 78),

e) Epitaph to Mrs Jane Conyers (page 79),

and possibly

f) Lines to the memory of the Revd Richd Conyers, ten years Rector of St Paul's Deptford (pages 80-86).

The Helmsley manuscript also includes

g) Richard Conyers' Visitation Sermon of 1764 (incomplete) (pages 88-106),

h) Ode on Helmsley Castle etc. by Dr Sandwith (1872) (pages 107-108),

i) John Newton's *Sermon* on Dr Conyers' Death (Stitched into back).

Clearly now a composite, its original conception and execution (items (a) to (e) and/or (f)) belong in all probability to the years 1790-94. The identity of the Memoir's author is unknown, although there are characteristics that must limit the possibilities. He clearly belonged to the locality, was well-educated with a good hand. He knew the local gentry, Jane Conyers and her brother John Thornton, well enough to be able to write in informed and credible detail. He was of an age to appreciate the significance of what he learnt: young enough to write in the last decade of the eighteenth century, yet old enough to recall Helmsley fifty years earlier. Though his knowledge of Deptford and the diocese of Rochester is limited, he did on occasion hear Dr Conyers in the ten years he spent there, and had learnt, even if at second-hand, something of his private ministry. Though probably not a clergyman himself, he was well-informed theologically and evidently committed to the 'religion of the heart'.

Given this, one might suspect - though find difficult to demonstrate - that the original author was Dr Humphry Sandwith (1746-1809). Of an established local

family, interested in Evangelical theology, a respected surgeon in Helmsley who married late, removing to Beverley in 1797, he was active in public life and may well from time to time have travelled to London. Increasing the possibility that this was the original author is the existence of another document held in the York Minster Archives:

THE GODLY MINISTER / EXEMPLIFIED IN THE LIFE / OF THE REV. /
RICHARD CONYERS L.L.D., / FORMERLY CURATE / AND AFTERWARDS /
VICAR OF HELMSLEY / A REPRINT WITH ADDENDA / YORK: / PRINTED
BY C.L.BURDEKIN, PARLIAMENT STREET, / 1872

This consists of a highly-edited reprint of the original Memoir, omitting the lines to Jane Conyers and the two Sermons, but substituting two hymns taken from Conyers' Collection and ending with an *Ode on Helmsley Castle* written by Dr Humphry Sandwith II.

The Helmsley of Richard Conyers' time had not survived his departure unchanged. His successor as vicar was a churchman of a very different stamp, and it was not long before a considerable number of the congregation defected to a newly-erected Independent Chapel offering a style of worship that they had come to value under Dr Conyers. But it would have been the advent of Charles Norris Gray's uncompromisingly Tractarian ministry, beginning in 1870, that would have challenged the presuppositions of the Helmsley Anglicanism of a previous century most sharply. Passions could run high, and perhaps even those who had already 'voted with their feet' did not feel it inappropriate to swell the voice of discontent. And certainly, there were many, Methodist and Anglicans alike, who could have looked back on Richard Conyers' years as Helmsley's 'glory days'.

Reading the 1872 edition of *The Godly Minister* side by side with the manuscript Memoirs - easier in the present work, since the deletions are shown in italics - makes it clear how radical the editing was, and also how these omissions were made with an implicit intention of portraying Richard Conyers as the archetypal Evangelical clergyman whom later Victorians could recognize as one of their own, rather than the more credible and interesting three-dimensioned portrayal of the original text.

Those who write on religious matters are not usually without scruples, and indeed here very little was *added* to the original. However, much has been *omitted*, and in just such a way as to distort the result. Personal experience of God's 'seal of acceptance' was indeed a blessing much treasured by early Evangelicals, but arguably not absolutely indispensable: Article XVII of the 39 Articles ('Of Predestination and Election') raises an obvious problem if those not granted such blessings were *ipso facto* dismissed as 'curious or carnal'. Obviously the original author experienced some difficulty in accommodating Jane Conyers' undoubted, but clearly different religious experience, but his Victorian editor could countenance no such attempt. For him no place could be found for any success in Conyers' ministry before his conversion; nor for the very frank description in the original text of Jane Conyers' own spiritual journey. He shows little respect for the intellectual process by which Richard Conyers arrived at his own awakening - much of which was simply ignored - nor for his very human distress in his final years.

One might raise one's hands in protest at such procedures, but it is probably more productive to identify where this happened, and to attempt, if not to justify, at least to appreciate the reasons. With the Church of England ritualistic movement widespread by the 1870s, there were those - even those doctrinally sympathetic - who feared that Tractarianism was making 'real' religion a mockery. A new Vicar of Helmsley in 1870, the Revd Charles Gray (whose father as the Archbishop of Cape Town had denounced Bishop Colenso of Natal for unorthodoxy) spent nearly forty years proving that his own service, love and compassion for his parishioners was in no way inferior to Richard Conyers'.

If Dr Humphry Sandwith I were the author/ compiler of the original Memoirs it would be easy to imagine his manuscript remaining a treasured family possession, and therefore readily available for considerable pruning when 'reprinted' by Dr Humphry II in 1872. This Humphry Sandwith II (1792-1874), became MD, FRCP, and author of two pamphlets concerned with Wesleyan Methodism, and, for a period, the editor of an Evangelical periodical.

What is less easy to explain, is how, or when, the document first came into the possession of the Vicars of Helmsley. There remains, however, yet another Dr Humphry Sandwith, involved in the Colonial Service, a son of Humphry Sandwith II, who might possibly have been responsible. If so, it is good to think that he may have recognised that, though indeed very different, Vicar Gray's ministry was in no way less dedicated, nor less a cause for gratitude, than that of his revered eighteenth-century predecessor.

EDITORIAL NOTE

The text presented here is that of the manuscript, preserving idiosyncrasies of spelling and punctuation. The only general exception to this is the elimination of the long "S", and the italicisation of passages expunged in the 1872 revision. Original page Numbers have been inserted at the start of each new page thus:[1].

[1] MEMOIRS / OF THE / REV RICHARD CONYERS L.L.D. / FORMERLY / CURATE OF KIRBY MISPERTON / AFTERWARDS / VICAR OF HELMSLEY / AND LATE / RECTOR OF ST PAULS' DEPTFORD / AND / CHAPLAIN TO THE / RT. REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF LONDON.

[2] Extract from the Registry of Baptisms / of the parish of Helmsley / 1725 February 9 Richard son of Mr John Conyers / of Helmsley.¹ [3] Dr Conyers was descended from a respectable family at Helmsley, in the North Riding of Yorkshire. He was born Febr'y 13th 1725.² When young he was deprived by death of both his

¹ Added in a later hand.

² Reconciled with the Baptismal Register, remembering the adoption of the Gregorian Calendar in 1752: Born on 13 February 1725 n/s he was baptised a week later on 20 February 1725 n/s (i.e. 2 & 9 February 1724/5 o/s).

parents;³ but his loss was, in a great measure, repaired by the kind attention of an aged Grandmother, who brought him up with tender solicitude.

*The strict morality of her example, added to the prevalence of his own inclination, and operated as an antidote to the follies incident to his age. He appears to have had serious impressions from his infancy, and is remembered to have retired at a certain [4] time from his playfellows, when only five years of age, and to have run down a lane to say his prayers. He was very fond of going to Church when a little Boy, and if he happened to be at play when the Bell toll'd for any ordinary service of the day, no solicitations of his juvenile companions could restrain his attendance. His Grandmother observing with pleasure, appearances so prognostic of future good, determined to train him up for the service of the Sanctuary.*⁴

His studies preparatory for the University were conducted at a school of considerable repute at Coxwold, [5] a few miles from Helmsley. *Happy would it be for the moral world, were all parents, in bringing up their children to the sacred ministry, actuated by similar motives.* At a suitable age he was entered at Jesus College Cambridge where his assiduity was unwearied, and his progress in every branch of useful literature rapid; especially in the mathematics, in the study of which he took superior delight;⁵ on leaving the University he was ordained to the Curacy of *Kirby Misperton, commonly called Over Carr*, in the vicinity of Pickering, about 14 miles from Helmsley, which he serv'd more than five years.⁶

[6] While a conscious regard to his parochial engagements forbade the least relaxation of duty; Helmsley, the place of his nativity, the residence of his relations,

³ Richard's parents were John Conyers (d. 1733) and Ann née Boulby (d. 1740). Their children were Susanna (b. 1716) Elizabeth (b. 1718) Thomas (b. 1719) Ann (b. 1721) John (b. 1723) Richard (b. 1725) Mary (b. 1726) and Ellen (b. 1728). Of these, Susanna, Ann and Mary died young, while Thomas and John died in 1767 and 1761 respectively, leaving Richard to inherit a family property at Kirkby Fleetham. Ellen alone survived Richard. The grandmother who took charge of Richard was probably Elizabeth Conyers, who lived until March 1748/9.

⁴ Presumably omitted from the 1872 reprint because it would be highly improper to train a child for a calling which came from God alone.

⁵ Conyers became a Pensioner at Jesus College, Cambridge on 2 July 1742, taking his B.A. in 1745 and M.A. in 1749. Though the lists for the year are now lost at Cambridge, Joseph Walker records in the Hull Family Chronicle that Richard Conyers was senior Wrangler in the Mathematical Tripos.

⁶ Unsuccessfully attempting to secure Ordination to a title at Kirkby Whisk (now Kirby Wiske) in 1746, Conyers was ordained deacon by the Bishop of Chester to Kirby Misperton on 14 June 1747. There was a family link in that Tobias and Leonard Conyers were successively rectors there from 1688 until 1707. Peter Debordieu was the rector to whom Richard was licensed, having been instituted on 11 July 1707. Technically, Richard Conyers should have remained in Kirby Misperton until his institution at Helmsley in 1756, but as we shall see, he had already developed a strong preference for Helmsley - maintained from 1763 to 1768 when he was himself also Rector of Kirby Misperton, despite the income at Helmsley being far smaller.

and the circle of his young acquaintance, still retained the precedence of his affections. Here he resided with his much beloved grandmother, and conducted himself towards the poor with so much benevolence, and towards the wealthy with so much respect, as effectually secured to him the approbation of persons of every description: the undeviating propriety [7] of his conduct so conciliated the esteem of Mr Duncombe, ⁷ the Lord of the Manor, who likewise resided in the parish, that he promised him the next presentation to the living, if he would forbear to seek other preferments. No proposition could have been more gratifying to his mind, as he had already formed so warm an attachment to the inhabitants of his native parish, that it was then in his heart to live and die with them: strongly disposed to acts of benevolence, he embraced every opportunity of tendering to them his best services. Observing with considerable pain [8] that they were extremely ignorant and dissolute, he resolved upon several expedients to disseminate knowledge, and promote the interest of morality among them:

He first attempted to turn the lower orders of the people from the horrid practice of profane swearing. On seeing them stand in disorderly companies, he expostulated on the impropriety of their conduct; declaring that he was determined to check that hateful custom, if it even cost him his life.

He instituted schools, at his own expence, for the education of [9] abject females,⁸ and began himself to instruct young men in figures and the lower branches in mathematics. As he rendered gratuitously every service in his power, to the incumbent of the parish, who was then much advanced in years, the Vicar,⁹ in return, never attempted to control him in any thing that might be deemed necessary to promote the general good; accordingly the next effort was, to habituate the people to an attendance upon divine service in which they had been extremely remiss; for this purpose he introduced [10] singing, which he endeavoured to encourage by personal attendance and assistance. After this he adopted that very commendable practice of catechising children and young people in the Church. His object, as he said, was not merely confined to the younger branches of families, but through the medium of the children to catechise their parents, and impress their minds with a deep sense of religion.

Among other young men who attended the singing society, there was one, who attracted his particular attention [11] and affectionate regard, that he took under his own tuition and prepared for the University. At the proper time this young gentleman was ordained and afterwards became more closely connected with him by marriage;

⁷ Thomas Duncombe. His grandson, Charles, became the first Baron Feversham. The present Lord Feversham remains patron. *The Evangelical Magazine* renders this 'Mr Duncan'.

⁸ Writing his supplementary letter to the Archbishop's Articles of Enquiry for the Primary Visitation of 1764, Conyers described appointing schoolmasters in his villages at £5 per annum to give free elementary education to the poorest children - but without distinction of sex.

⁹ The Revd Francis Hodgson, ordained deacon in 1699 and priest in 1700. He remained Vicar of Helmsley until his death in 1755.

being soon call'd by grace to a knowledge of the Gospel, which he still continued to preach with great approbation and success.¹⁰

On the decease of the aged Vicar, Dr Conyers, according to a former promise was presented to the living by his friend Mr Duncombe. This he considered to be a high degree of preferment, not for the sake of its emolument, but [12] for the opportunity it afforded him of doing good. The whole of the small tithes, (the great tithes belonging to the Duke of Rutland), did not exceed sixty pounds per annum, *though the successor has increased them to two hundred*.¹¹ Notwithstanding his income was small, and some parts of the parish extended to the distance of ten miles from the Vicarage House, yet preferring the care of the flock to the acquisition of the fleece, he thought himself amply compensated with the prospect of more extensive usefulness. *Having much to do, [13] and much to learn, he entered upon this weighty charge with a zeal, though not with a knowledge, proportioned to its magnitude. Accordingly he left no part of his large parish neglected, but regularly visited and familiarly conversed with*

¹⁰ Roger Bentley, baptized 3 January 1733/4, the son of Robert Bentley of Helmsley. Admitted Sizar at Sidney Sussex and matriculating at Michaelmas 1753, he was ordained deacon on 19 September 1756 to a title at Helmsley and Kirkdale without graduating. Ordained priest on 24 September 1760, he had married Richard Conyers' younger sister, Ellen, on 16 January 1759. There were five children of the marriage: Ann (1760); Elizabeth (1762); Ellen (1763); Conyers (1765) and Jane (1797). Cowie suggests in the *ODNB* that Richard Conyers became a naval chaplain in 1761: Cussons' *Memoir* and Seymour's *Countess of Huntingdon*, suggest that Conyers' other activities and precarious health render this improbable. Nevertheless, if so, the reason may have had less to do with Evangelical fervour than the need to secure desperately-needed extra income. After an abortive attempt to secure the nomination to Cottingham in 1767 (foiled by the Bishop of Chester seeking assurances over his 'Methodist' sympathies), Bentley eventually became Vicar of St Giles' Camberwell in 1769 on John Thornton's presentation, remaining until death on 27 October 1795. His obituary in the *Evangelical Magazine* describes him as "A.M." and the records at Sidney Sussex show him to have been re-admitted in 1768, perhaps for the specific purpose of completing terms needed for graduation. Bentley suffered a stroke in 1789, and Camberwell was served by the Revd John King, B.A., Fellow of Magdalene, son of the Vicar of Middleton in the North Riding. John King married Roger and Ellen Bentley's daughter, Jane, on 18 April 1797, and was eventually presented by Samuel Thornton to the Rectory of Bisley in Surrey in 1810, where he remained until death in 1845. Jane Conyers' Household Account Book passed from her husband (Richard)'s possession to Roger Bentley, and thence to Jane King, whose entries may be found in the same book, covering the years 1838-1845.

¹¹ By 1849 the *Clergy List* recorded the value of the Helmsley living at £464 per annum. The Napoleonic Wars brought considerable inflation, but the greatest factor in raising clerical incomes came from various tithe commutation arrangements. The text gives a clear impression that Conyers' successor made the most of his opportunities - which may be the case. For a more detailed understanding of these matters, see Judith Jago, *Aspects of the Georgian Church* (1997), and David John Bowes' thesis, 'The Church of England in East Yorkshire from 1723 to c1830 with particular reference to economic matters', (University of Hull, 2006), chapters 1 & 2

the most indigent and illiterate, and attempted not only, by frequent public ministrations, catechetical exercises,¹² and private conferences, but also by personal example, to excite to a general propriety of conduct.

He was accustomed to assemble at his own house, companies of young men for the purpose of [14] religious improvement, and in conjunction with them appointed that at a certain hour, upon the striking of the Church Clock, each should retire to his habitation, and be present in spirit together before God in the exercise of prayer.¹³

The amendment in the lives of many of his people evinced that his exertions were not entirely unsuccessful. His benevolence, liberality, and condescension increased parochial affection, while his indefatigable assiduity attracted the attention of those who were not immediately under his pastoral care.¹⁴

[15] Thus, in every circle he was respected and commended as an eminent saint; and an exemplary and able minister; but alas! he was yet unpossessed of vital godliness, and ignorant of the true nature of the Gospel, relying solely on his own righteousness for acceptance. Nay, he imperceptibly imbibed the gross and pernicious errors of a Socinian¹⁵ writer, and actually wrote him a letter of thanks for his productions, but was prevented from sending it by the following circumstance. On reading Luke 6.26 "Woe unto you, when all men shall speak well of you! for so did their fathers to the false prophets", [16] a flash of conviction darted into his soul. He was honoured by general approbation, the rancorous fury of calumny had not interrupted his repose, nor had he to contend with the virulence of persecuting opposition, he was therefore apparently included in the tremendous denunciation. Yet his mental uneasiness was long unproductive of salutary effect. Pharisaical confidence has a melancholy tendency to render every recurrence subservient to the increase of its fascinating influence, and

¹² Possibly the formal 'catechising' of children and servants enjoined by the Book of Common Prayer. Alternatively, this may mean 'teaching' in the extended sense used by early Evangelicals to describe less formal religious meetings held outside the Church in unlicensed buildings.

¹³ A practice reminiscent of George Herbert's ministry at Bemerton near Salisbury in the previous century.

¹⁴ A delicate allusion to Conyers' ministry spreading beyond his own parish boundaries. It is presented here as if others crossed those boundaries to come to him, but the truth may have been more complicated. Judith Jago suggests that Conyers' 1764 letter to the archbishop might conceal unease on his part. Certainly his neighbour, William Deason, curate of Bilsdale, resented Conyers' influence, expressing himself clearly in his 1764 visitation return for Bilsdale. 'Itinerant ministry' was a live issue throughout this period. By and large, early evangelicals exercised it by invitation, exchanging pulpits with like-minded clerical friends. This provided variety in preaching - and perhaps as a result downplayed other aspects of pastoral ministry. Possibly for this last reason Bishops did not generally like the practice: however, it was perfectly permissible unless an individual clergyman became notorious and he could then be refused permission to officiate. The difficulty arose when those like Wesley and Whitefield, refused access to Anglican pulpits on a voluntary basis, took to open-air preaching in defiance of the local incumbent. But this kind of itinerancy emphatically did not commend itself to Conyers - an issue recurring in these Memoirs in different guises.

¹⁵ That is, one 'denying the doctrine of the Trinity'.

the pride which originates in an internal consciousness of uncommon [17] integrity, superior virtue, and extraordinary humility, is often least suspected, though most pernicious. Dr Conyers, hoping by additional punctuality in the discharge of his duties to calm his mental perturbation, conducted himself with greater propriety, fasted more frequently, and used sometimes at the altar in the Church to sign with his own blood in a most solemn manner his resolution to devote the remainder of his life to the service of God, and to render himself acceptable to Heaven by peculiar sanctity. But all his attempts though long continued were ineffectual to restore his former peace and had not [18] omnipotent Grace interposed, "he had resolved and unresolved, but died the same"¹⁶ as there is reason to believe that these convictions were the genuine consequence of the influence of the Holy Spirit upon his heart, so we cannot suppose that the earnest supplications of this distressed enquirer could be heard by a compassionate Redeemer with inattention and neglect. Conviction of his great deficiency in saving Knowledge was certainly necessary to the proper reception of gracious communication. While reading the lesson for the day in the public service at the [19] Church the expression of St Paul Eph[esians] 3rd 8th "The unsearchable riches of Christ," made a deep impression upon his mind, On this Scripture he was involuntary led to reflect "The unsearchable riches of Christ[.]" I never found, I never knew that these were unsearchable riches in Him[.]" Accustomed to consider the Gospel as extremely simple and intelligible, he was surprised that the Apostle should assert that the riches of Christ were unsearchable. Immediately he concluded that his sentiments and experience must be entirely dissimilar to the Apostles. Deep convictions accompanied these [20] reflections, and his trouble was not a little increased by considering that if he himself was wrong in the fundamental articles of religion, he must also by his mode of preaching have mislead his flock, to the great prejudice of their souls. He could not help communicating his distress to those whom he apprehended & he seriously disposed and suggested his fears that "he had brought both them and himself into a condition from which he was unable to deliver them". About this time, his self-righteous confidence was still more ¹⁷ shaken by reading Romans 4th, 5th: "But to him that

¹⁶ From Edward Young (1683-1765):

At thirty a man suspects himself a fool;
Knows it at forty, and reforms his plan;
At fifty chides the infamous delay,
Pushes his prudent purpose to resolve;
In all the magnanimity of thought
Resolves; and un-resolves; then dies the same.'

Night Thoughts (1742-45) *Night 1*, lines 417-22

¹⁷ In 1872, the remainder of the sentence is introduced: 'But all this time he acted on a self-righteous principle. At length, however, his pharasaic confidence was ...' The doctrinal point underlying the omission is that it would be inappropriate to ascribe success on any scale to a minister who had yet to experience divine confirmation of his redemption and acceptance. Also, omitting Conyers' intellectual difficulties over 'the unsearchable riches of Christ', gives the central redemptive Pauline text (Romans 4:5) greater prominence.

worketh not [21] but believeth on him that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is counted for righteousness-." He felt a disinclination to relinquish the doctrines he had so long maintained, and to acknowledge the vanity of all his former dependance, and yet being incapable of defending them upon Scripture grounded, he earnestly prayed to relive that divine instruction which could alone illuminate his mind, and free him from that uncertainty which became the source of continual anguish.

At length the sorrowful sighing of the prisoner is attended with Success, and on the 25th December 1758, the day on which the Revd Jas Hervey died,¹⁸ [22] while walking in his room in a pensive frame, he was led to contemplate those two passages of Scripture, Heb-9-22nd "Without shedding of blood there is no remission" and 1st John 1st 7th "The blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth us from all sin[.]" The mist[s] of ignorance were instantaneously dissipated and finding that he could centre his hopes in the atoning blood and righteousness of Jesus Christ, he became the immediate partaker of real and ineffable joy. "I went up stairs and down again" said he backwards and forwards in my room, clapping my hands for joy and [23] crying out, I have found him, my soul loveth, and for a little time, as the Apostle said whether in the body or out of it, I could hardly tell[.]"¹⁹

*True religion does by no means induce us to conceal our knowledge, or to dwell with reserve on the pleasures we experience; this truth was exemplified by Dr Conyers.*²⁰

The first time that his friends were assembled at his house he embraced the opportunity of informing them, with truly evangelical simplicity, that they had been by him hitherto unintentionally deceived. He related his former distresses, and made them acquainted with his [24] present joyful sensations and concluded by attempting to convince them from Scripture, that the Blood of Christ could alone expiate their innumerable transgressions and produce real peace of mind and that his righteousness only could entitle them to the enjoyment of eternal life.²¹ Upon this occasion an aged man who was blind, and resided in an adjacent village, rose up, and with his furrowed cheeks bedewed with tears, and his arms widely expanded, endeavoured to embrace him, as a token of his [25] gratitude, for the tidings he had heard, and the pleasure he had received. This affecting scene was preparatory to a similar but more public acknowledgement, which took place at the parish Church, before a very numerous auditory, on the ensuing Sabbath Day. He there began to preach without a

¹⁸ A 'particular providence' or co-incidence. The Revd James Hervey (26 February 1714 - 25 December 1758) was an early evangelical, friend of John Wesley and author of the well-known *Meditations*. Presumably the light that shone from him is not so much extinguished as transferred.

¹⁹ Referring to Paul's mystical experience recounted in II Corinthians 12:1-10.

²⁰ By 1872 social conventions about the privacy of religion made this sentence inappropriate.

²¹ Redemption, like faith, was a matter of grace, freely given by God. Good works and an interior assurance of salvation, were God's 'seal' to His Chosen.

precomposed Sermon,²² spoke to them freely of the way of Salvation alone by the Lord Jesus, acknowledged that his principles had been erroneous, that he had been ignorant of the Holy Scriptures, and that the doctrine [26] which he had inculcated and laboured to establish among them was not the Gospel.

From this period we may date the commencement of his evangelical ministry; his spiritual knowledge increased exceedingly and with it his desire for the salvation of the souls committed to his care. He now found that all men did not speak well of him; he was soon called upon to suffer the reproach of the cross. Many of his former friends began to treat him with negligence and contempt. But none of these things moved him; he determined by divine assistance [27] unremittingly to persevere; uncommon success attended his labours[.] [A]s the number of converts considerably increased, he divided them into distinct classes, men by themselves, and women by themselves, and those into married and unmarried. His extensive Parish contained several small villages, and being divided into Hamlets, these select Societies assembled in such places as best suited their convenience. At appointed times he met them for the purpose of spiritual conversation and every day at eleven o'clock preached at some part of the Parish. These services [28] were continued by him or his curates to the time of his removal to Deptford.

Nor were his labours less abundant at home than in the remote parts of his extensive Parish; for he rendered his own family a Bethel, and erected a room adjoining the Parsonage, which was every morning and evening opened for all who thought proper to attend his domestic religious exercises. Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and Friday evenings, he was accustomed to read and expound a chapter in the Old Testament, and on Saturday and Sabbath evenings he commented [29] upon a chapter in the New.²³

Though unweariedly occupied by the spiritual concerns, he was not inattentive to the temporal advantages and necessities of his flock. The Schools were continued and he devoted the greatest part of his personal and parochial income to the relief of poverty, and the purchase of those necessary Medicines, and Cordials, which the contracted circumstances of the indigent rendered them unable to procure.

²² Extempore preaching was a characteristic of the evangelical clergy. But this was conceived more as an exercise in openness to God than a more direct method of engaging with a congregation. John Newton, who frequently published his Sermons, often made the point that they were written down only after they had first been preached.

²³ Omitted in 1872 because a minister's primary task was to preach the Gospel and celebrate the Sacraments publicly in his parish church. Domestic devotions were not to be confused with this, however laudable in themselves. Cussons' *Memoir* makes it clear that Conyers had certainly on occasion used his domestic chapel for Communion, though it is possible that this was less an 'unlicensed Conventicle' than an arrangement of convenience - the church being unpleasantly cold in winter months for a Sunday evening service.

About 1764, the late John Thornton Esq.,²⁴ being informed of his excellent character [30] and singular success, made him a visit. Their congeniality of disposition was productive of a friendship which uninterruptedly continued during the remainder of their lives. By this intimacy Dr Conyers was introduced to Mrs Knipe,²⁵ an affluent and pious widow, sister of Mr Thornton. Mutual affection ensued and in 1765 they were united in Matrimony. *Much of our present felicity depends on our social and relative connections. Happy are those engagements upon which religion smiles propitious! When the graces of several Individuals are concentrated in [31] one focus, they acquire additional brilliancy and produce more powerful and laudable effects. Such were the pleasing consequences of the marriage of Dr Conyers.* His liberality²⁶ increased with the augmentation of his fortune, and his amiable consort cheerfully contributed her assistance in these benevolent exertions. Although very opulent, and able to indulge herself in the enjoyments of the superfluities and luxuries of life, yet she generally appeared in a plain unornamented camlet²⁷ gown, and devoted her time to the relief of the necessitous; She regularly visited the sick, supplied [32] them with medical assistance, and affectionately conversed with them upon the state of their souls. During the inclemency of the winter, this holy and happy pair constantly provided clothes to secure the wretched poor from the rigours of the season, and when scanty harvest seemed to threaten approaching wants, purchased large quantities of corn,²⁸ which they distributed at half the market price. Every Sabbath about thirty persons from distant parts were regaled around their hospitable board.

After his character as a man of [33] Evangelical sentiments became generally known, he was called to preach a sermon before the clergy at a visitation of his diocesan, the

²⁴ John Thornton (1720-90) was a wealthy London merchant-banker who became an important ally to the Evangelical cause. A friend and patron of Venn, Newton, Bentley, Conyers and many other Calvinist Evangelicals, he did much to prepare the ground for the 'Clapham Sect' in which his son, Henry, was a prominent member. The reference to 'the late' dates our text to a point between 1790 and 1794.

²⁵ Jane Knipe (1718-74) was John Thornton's elder sister. First married to Nathaniel Knipe in 1735, she was widowed, marrying Richard Conyers in 1765. Her Household Account Book, held in the Hull University Archives, reveals a conscientious and kindly woman with eminently practical skills. It is uncertain whether she had children of her own: Robert Knipe may have been a step-son, and Jenny Knipe (for whom she paid Venn at Yelling £20 a year for schooling) was a god-child. The flyleaf of the book records the main addresses of her regular correspondents, concluding, sadly, 'Mr Nicholson Surgeon Bath: Powders to cure Cancer'. Her last entries were made only days before her death.

²⁶ 'The liberality of Dr Conyers...' (1872). The previous passage was omitted in 1872, presumably because it suggests that Conyers' ministry gained in its effect from a human rather than a divine source.

²⁷ 'Camlet' was an expensive woven fabric made from camel or goat's hair and silk, but recently cheaper imitations were made from wool and cotton. More sumptuous examples were 'figured'.

²⁸ Jane Conyers' Household Accounts record regular, large purchases of wheat - but no mention of further sale.

Archbishop of York.²⁹ This became the subject of considerable embarrassment to his mind, and to prevent the increase of his anxiety, he was advised to commit his thoughts to writing. He complied and read his Sermon to several friends, on condition that they would be absent at the time when it should be delivered.³⁰

The circumstances of his being appointed to this service was made the topic of general conversation [34] among the neighbouring clergy, and their parishioners, who declared "if he should dare to preach his Methodism³¹ in the presence of his Grace, his gown would soon be stripped over his ears." On this occasion a great number of friends and enemies were convened and the Church became prodigiously thronged. He attempted to explain the nature of the work of the Holy Spirit as deducible from John 16.8th "And when he is come, he will reprove the world of sin, and of righteousness and of judgment." During his discourse the beclouded [35] countenance of his clerical hearers indicated that the important doctrine, which he proved and enforced, was extremely offensive, and when the service was concluded, they treated him with the most pointed disrespect.

As he was in the street in conversation with several farmers, the Bishop advanced and accosted him as follows "Well, Conyers, you have given us a fine Sermon!" "I am glad" said the Doctor, "it meets with the approbation of your Grace[.] "Approbation"[sic] approbation" replied the Bishop, "if you go on preaching such stuff you will drive all your Parish mad." [36] Were you to inculcate the morality of Socrates³² it would do more good than canting about the new birth" His Grace immediately walked off without waiting for a reply. After such insults the Doctor instead of spending the afternoon with his reverend brethren, dined with a party of friends at another Inn. Mr Thornton was of this number, who while sitting by him, slipped the sermon from his Pocket, printed and dispersed it about the Country. This was the only production of the Doctor's that ever appeared from the press.³³

²⁹ The Visitation took place on 25 June 1764 at New Malton. The archbishop was Robert Hay Drummond, former Bishop of St Asaph (1748) and Salisbury (1761). His Visitation Articles of Inquiry reveal a determination to set parishes in good order, promote good practice, and discourage 'itinerancy'.

³⁰ See Note 22 on extempore preaching.

³¹ Wesley's Methodists were still a 'Connexion' within the Established Church, though their separatist tendencies and 'pretensions to singular outpourings of the Holy Ghost' made them unpopular with certain bishops. Though certainly not Methodists in any formal sense, Evangelical clergy were seen as fellow-travellers in both their sermons and parish organisation. Having 'his gown stripped over his ears' was the eighteenth-century equivalent of 'unfrocking'.

³² 1872 inserts as a footnote '* A heathen philosopher'. Drummond's point was that theologians had long regarded Socrates' ethical system as the epitome of human enlightenment, on to which divine revelation superimposed the Ten Commandments and Sermon on the Mount to draw mankind to sanctification. The Antinomianism associated with 'new-birth' evangelical ideas had already led George Bell (later committed to Bedlam) to cause Wesley great embarrassment only the previous year.

³³ This is not quite true. Conyers' Hymns first appeared in 1767 and went through several revisions and additions before the end of the century.

[37] Two or three years after his marriage he took the degree of Doctor of Laws, at the University of Cambridge.³⁴

*From the time he began to preach Christ crucified he became progressively acquainted with the Truths of God and unreservedly communicated to his people the things he received. Nor were they defective in Simplicity and Godly sincerity towards their dear Minister. They came about him as affectionate children, around a fond Father, and were strongly united, as brethren of the same family. One Spirit prevailed the whole. [38] We can never ensure the uninterrupted continuance of terrestrial enjoyments. For a few years the Doctor was indulged with every comfort, which a traveller journeying through the rugged wilderness of this world could expect.*³⁵

But his creature comforts were not a little interrupted by a melancholy certainty that a tedious and painful disease would deprive him of the dear partner of his Life. Her complaint baffling all the efforts of the medical art, she languished till Febry 24th 1774, and *then fell asleep in Jesus.*[resigned her soul to him who gave it. - 1872]

[39] *Notwithstanding this amiable woman was acknowledged by all who knew her, to possess a large share of moral virtue and vital religion she herself like many of the Lord's dear people almost uninterruptedly laboured under doubts, as to the certainty of her interest in Jesus Christ, and although in her dying moments she had sufficient confidence to express, that he had made with her an everlasting covenant, ordered in all things and sure, yet she did not possess those ecstatic pleasures with which some good people are indulged while passing through [40] the valley of the shadow of death. In this branch of christian experience she may be considered as a striking contrast to her husband, who from the first manifestations of the love of Christ to his soul to the day of his death never entertained one doubt of his Interest in the Saviour, and in the former part of his Evangelical Ministry maintained the sentiment, that the essence and assurance of faith are inseparable. Upon the various branches of her character it would be difficult to furnish an adequate Eulogium.*³⁶ [41] *The Opinion which the inhabitants of Helmsley formed of this mother in Israel*³⁷ *may be collected from the expressive lines we have inserted in the last pages of this work .*

³⁴ In 1767. Such a degree was often more a reflection of worth than academic attainment. To take it would have prove relatively expensive, and something Conyers could only contemplate through the financial resources his wife had brought to the marriage or, possibly, his inheriting a family property on the death of his elder brother that year.

³⁵ Deleted in 1872 because the passage suggested a minister could 'gradually' attain and teach Gospel truths.

³⁶ 'Eulogium' = archaic form of 'eulogy'.

³⁷ 'Mother in Israel'. A reference to Deborah (Judges 5:7) who, as judge and prophetess, overcame Sisera, and gave her people peace for forty years. The term was used to denote a woman who exercised beneficent governance otherwise expected of a man.

But the death of Mrs Conyers was an inconsiderable loss to the inhabitants of Helmsley, compared with to that which they were called to witness about eighteen months after, by the removal of their almost adored pastor to another Parish. The evening of the Sabbath-day Augt 27th 1773, he was preaching in the Church. The words which came under consideration in the regular [42] Course of his exposition, are recorded, John, 12 - 35-36. "Then Jesus said unto them yet a little while is the light with you, lest darkness come upon you: For he that walketh in darkness, knoweth not whither he goeth. While ye have the light, believe on the light that ye may be the children of light. The[se] things spake Jesus, and departed and did hide himself from them". Upon the subject of his text he spake with peculiar energy. First, he enumerated to his auditory the priveleges and blessings that they [43] had so long enjoyed, and requested them to recollect that every one had "sat under his own vine, and under his own fig-tree none making him afraid."³⁸ He then spoke of the evangelical mercies, and lamented that of late many of the rising generation had not benefited by the means of Grace. He urged upon them the importance and necessity of working while it is called to-day, and said it was more than probable that the time of his departure was at hand and entreated them to consider of the things that made for their peace; he charged to beware of wolves that might come [44] in among them to "stand fast in the glorious liberty wherewith Christ had made them free, and to walk worthy of the Lord, unto all well pleasing."³⁹ He reminded them that the words of the text were the words of our Lord, and might be shortly accomplished in them. Little did he then think that this was to be the last sermon that ever he should preach within those walls. On his return home he appeared greatly oppressed in mind, and said to his Curate, by whom we have been favoured for this information, "Tell me what I have said this [45] Evening. I have distressed myself exceedingly, and I am sure I must have greatly grieved my hearers. However, these things are true and must be declared." On the Friday following Sept 1st he received a letter from Mr Thornton informing him of the vacancy of the living of St Paul's Deptford, the next presentation to which he had purchased. Of this Rectory he made a tender to Dr Conyers, which he accepted to the unutterable distress of his people.⁴⁰

It is impossible to describe the general sorrow which pervaded his parishioners, when [46] made acquainted with his determination. His own sensibility was so much roused as to incapacitate him to enter the church, to deliver a farewell discourse on the occasion. A traveller passing through the town, as he approached the market place, saw a great concourse of people in the bitterest lamentation he ever beheld. Some were wringing their hands, and others with tears streaming down their cheeks, appeared almost in a state of distraction. Inquiry into the cause, he was given to understand that it [47] was on account of the irreparable loss they were likely to

³⁸ See Micah 4:4.

³⁹ A conflation of Galatians 5:1 and Colossians 1:10

⁴⁰ The right to present a clergyman to a particular parish could be bought and sold. John Thornton used his wealth to place several clergy of his own Calvinist Evangelical persuasions: Venn, Bentley, Conyers and Newton, amongst others.

sustain in the removal of their minister. Many of them publicly declared "that they would lay themselves along the road, and if he was determined to leave them, his carriage should drive over them". To avoid the confusion which he apprehended might accompany his departure, he thought it most prudent to leave the place in the dead of night. Thus he forsook a people whom he had begotten in the Gospel,⁴¹ and [48] trained up in the nature and admonition of the Lord. According to computation he has had eighteen hundred communicants at his Church.⁴² In this charge he was succeeded by a shepherd incapable of feeding them with knowledge and understanding.⁴³ Not a few of our friends have endeavoured to vindicate this extraordinary procedure, and though we have no doubt he was able to justify it to his own mind, we are ready to confess that no reason has ever been offered sufficient to convince us of the propriety of such a measure.⁴⁴

[49] To his new charge he brought the same precious truths, though not with equal effect. We have frequently heard him proclaim at Deptford the glories of Jesus Christ; and scarcely know for which to admire him most, the soundness of his doctrine, the unaffected elegance of his style, or the pleasing familiarity with which he detailed his own experience. As there is no situation in life without its exercises, so it is not to be expected that Dr Conyers was not without them at Deptford. On the contrary, there is reason to believe [50] that they were rather increased than diminished. At Helmsley he had always the entire command of the Pulpit: at Deptford there was a Lecturer chosen by the parish.⁴⁵

⁴¹ See I Corinthians 4:15, 'for in Christ Jesus I have begotten you through the Gospel'.

⁴² Relegated to a footnote in 1872. Conyers, like most eighteenth-century clergy, celebrated the Sacrament quarterly. 1800 communicants, understood as an annual figure, therefore agrees with Conyers' own claim in his covering letter to Drummond in 1764 that he had 450 communicants at his quarterly celebrations. (Conyers' letter is held in the 1764 Visitation Returns at the Borthwick Institute, York.)

⁴³ The Revd John Clement, Vicar of Helmsley (1776-1805)

⁴⁴ The Revd John Berridge, an Evangelical contemporary of Conyers, wrote to John Thornton in protest at the appointment, accusing him of allowing his judgement to be swayed by family connections, and Conyers of avarice. (It is not quite clear, however, just how seriously he was making this charge.) Nevertheless, as we now appreciate, by 1776 Richard Conyers had lost all his brothers and all but two sisters as well as his wife. His closest relations and friends now lived in London, and, according to Cussons, were urging him to move there. And, indeed, after a physically gruelling ministry of almost thirty years he may well have needed a change - just as Henry Venn had needed to move from Huddersfield to Yelling a little earlier in very similar circumstances. It might also be thought that Conyers wanted to develop the more intimate, counselling, ministry that he had initiated in his domestic chapel at Helmsley, and continued with the conversion of his stables and the outbuildings of the parsonage at Deptford for similar uses.

⁴⁵ 'Lectures' were first endowed when regular Sermons were otherwise difficult to provide, or when a particular religious interest wished to secure Sermons to its liking. Essentially supplementary to the regular ministry of the rector or vicar, they easily became - as in Deptford - a source of contention.

There he had very few trials from persons of opposite sentiments. Here in the morning, one doctrine was preached and in the afternoon another. At Helmsley he was universally known and beloved, even by those who did not cordially embrace the Gospel: at Deptford it was otherwise. At the former place his labours were more extended and uncontrolled: in the latter, they were necessarily [51] more contracted and restrained.⁴⁶ However, not confining his public preaching to the parish church on the Sabbath day, he converted his coach house and stables into a domestic chapel, and established lectures four nights a week. *On these the most serious part of his parishioners, and other christian friends attended with no small degree of edification and pleasure. In this work his spirit was willing: he did much and wished he could have done more.*⁴⁷ Amidst all the excellencies which distinguished this man of God, he was the subject of a few singularities of which he was sensible and would [52] freely converse. In the height of summer when the congregation in his domestic chapel had been dissolved with intense heat, he has come to the pulpit wrapt up in a cloak, and if the door happened to be left open, he could not proceed till it was shut. No arguments, persuasions, nor entreaties could prevail on him to enter any pulpit but his own. Even when he had been expressly nominated by his Diocesan⁴⁸ to preach in another Church, he has declined the service and disappointed a crowded auditory who wished to hear him.

[53] The benefit of his singular abilities were therefore confined to his own congregation, and it was with the greatest difficulty and but seldom that his most intimate friends could engage him to lead in family worship where he has been occasionally present. His intimates have frequently expressed their sorrow that the sphere of his usefulness should be so much contracted and he has often lamented it himself, but his hindrance was constitutional and invincible; he had a continual hurry and flutter upon his spirit, the effects of which were unaccountable [54] to those who knew not the cause.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ From this point until the detailed account of Dr Conyers' last week, the text is heavily dependent on Newton's Funeral Sermon of 7th May 1786, first published later that year.

⁴⁷ Omitted in 1872 presumably because of the suggestion that 'the spirit might be willing, but the flesh weak'.

⁴⁸ John Thomas, Bishop of Rochester (1774-97). As the bishopric of Rochester was poorly endowed, the appointment was annexed at this period to the Deanery of Westminster, where John Thomas would have maintained his principal residence. Thomas's nomination of Conyers for this duty might well have arisen from personal awareness of his abilities in the pulpit: as a Bishop he is unlikely to have nominated him on the basis of reputed Evangelical or Methodist sympathies.

⁴⁹ The symptoms appeared as shortage of breath and fainting-fits of mild severity. The household Account Book includes Conyers' own expenditure for 1785-6 - recording the purchase of 2 gallons of gin every other month. This is surely significant, though possibly an attempt on Conyers' part to allay the condition.

Taken in different views, he might be considered very happy, and very uncomfortable at the same instant. In the most important sense he was a happy man. He had peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ, enjoyed much of this light of his countenance and had no perplexing doubts reflecting his acceptance in the beloved, or his perseverance in grace; yet through the agitation of his spirits he spent many of his days, and almost every hour in trepidation and alarm. [55] The slightest incidents were sufficient to fill him with fears, which though he knew they were groundless, he could not overcome. Upon no occasions did he suffer more from these painful feelings than when he had public preaching in prospect. When he met the people in his own chapel he usually found pleasure and liberty, unless he observed a stranger, especially if he suspected him to be a minister, and this would so disconcert him as to render him almost incapable of speaking. On these occasions he would sometimes say to Mr Thornton [56] "If you expect any blessing under my ministry, I beg you will not bring so many blackcoats⁵⁰ with you". It may seem very extraordinary that a man of the first rate abilities, as a preacher highly respected, and honoured with evident usefulness should be intimidated with the presence of those who were much his inferiors. But such was his burthen, that neither reflection nor resolution could remove it.

Perhaps there have been martyrs who approached the rack of the stake with less distressing sensations, than he has felt when about to enter upon his otherwise delightful work. It is not remembered that while he resided at Deptford he ever preached publicly in the neighbourhood excepting once when he accepted an appointment to preach at the Archdeacon's visitation at Deptford.⁵¹ In this instance he kept it an entire secret, lest a multitude should be drawn to hear him. He afterwards mentioned to a particular friend, that from the hour he stood engaged, which was several weeks before the time, he could scarcely [58] think of anything else, and that when the day arrived, his spirits were so extremely agitated, that for a few minutes after he was in the pulpit he was deprived of his eyesight. If we speak of the consequences of dying he was not afraid of them, for he knew in whom he had believed and that to depart, and be with the Lord was unspeakably preferable to any thing that could be enjoyed in the present life. But though not afraid [59] of Death he was often afraid of dying; his apprehensions of the possible forerunners and concomitants of dying have frequently made a painful impression upon his spirits. Upon this account they who loved him had reason to be reconciled to the suddenness of his removal; but however alarmed with the apprehensions of the pain of dying, he would frequently converse upon the subject of his departure, and say to his select [60] friends, "I wish I could slip away from you, and get to my Jesus in heaven as easily as I could walk out of one room into another; you should see me no more, though I should be sorry to leave the people". A lady of his acquaintance making him a visit no more than three weeks previous to his death, on her entering the room, he

⁵⁰ 'blackcoats', i.e. clergy, distinguished in that age by their sombre, black dress.

⁵¹ 'Deptford' This is a mistake: the Visitation took place at St Mary's, Dartford. This is corrected in the *Evangelical Magazine*.

*accosted her saying, "Mrs P. I can tell you [61] what will give you pleasure, I am delivered from the fear of dying": she replied "Then we shall soon lose you".*⁵²

There are some circumstances attending his death so remarkable that we are ready to conclude, he must have had some premonition of the event.⁵³ As he was walking in his garden on the Monday before he died, as well as usual, he observed his servant making the walks very neat, [62] and said to him, "It will not be long that we shall be here[;] you may give over, I say, I shall not be long here". On the Tuesday as he was walking again in the garden he said to the same person, "Come and sit by me. I shall not be long here; if I die, let me be laid when I am dead in the parlour" and then he conversed most sweetly and familiarly of the things of God with a cheerful voice. To a particular friend he said "I shall not be [63] long, this will be the last time I shall see you, we must be in Christ Jesus or nothing at all[.]" He was now as well as he had been for a long time. On the Thursday expecting to see some near relation who lived in the neighbourhood, he felt no small disappointment at their not coming and said, "It would have been their last time if they had come[.]" During all this week he would repeatedly say "I find my Jesus so precious to my [64] soul that I cannot express it[.] I am so happy in the things of God, I am so wrapt up in Jesus, that I am confident I shall not stay here long[.]" On the Saturday he took his servant with him into the Church-yard and said, "I want to look out a spot for my grave, shew me Mr Barker's grave", a person who had been converted under his ministry, and died happy; When he had fixed on the place he drove a stick into it and said - "If I should live [65] until Monday, I will get the Sexton to come and try whether there is sufficient depth of earth, but I do not think I shall hold out until Monday[.]" On the next day, which was the Sabbath day, he went to church as usual. In the course of the service the 20th Chapter of the Acts happened to be the second lesson for the morning. As he read it he made several pathetic remarks on that part of it which the Apostle calls the Ephesian Elders to record, that he has not shunned [66] to declare the whole counsel of God and intimates that they should see his face no more.⁵⁴ This proved in the issue but too applicable to his own case. In his comment he called upon their consciences solemnly to witness, that he was clear of their blood. In his discourse which he preached from Mattⁿ 28th - 18th "All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth"; he largely and sweetly dwelt on the Godhead and satisfaction of Jesus Christ, [67] adoring the grace that had enabled him to preach him, and directing the people to remember that Christ lived and that all their happiness for time and eternity was

⁵² Omitted in 1872 in the belief that 'knowing the day and time' when the summons should come was a privilege properly reserved for the Almighty. If Conyers had some premonition, this was a dispensation of singular grace for him alone. It was quite inappropriate to portray 'Mrs P..' as having any intimation of the divine summons.

⁵³ Though one might suspect these premonitions as more hagiography than history, nonetheless Conyers' will, drawn up in Low Dutch in 1784, was translated and sworn in Amsterdam only weeks before his death.

⁵⁴ Acts 20:25-27

treasured up in him. In pronouncing the blessing,⁵⁵ his speech seemed to falter, which only those who were near him could perceive, and finding himself seized with the stroke of Death, he called to his man, who stood near him and said, "I cannot get from my knees"; His servant raised him up, being perfectly helpless but sensible. His crowded audience were instantly thrown into shrieks and tears, several [68] of his friends assisted in bringing him from the Pulpit, and as they carried him along the aisle with tears on his cheeks, a smile on his countenance, he waved his hand on the people, thus bidding them a final farewell. Being taken to his house, he said, "I have no pain, God's will be done, I hope I shall soon be with Jesus". Nor was he disappointed for at four o'clock in the afternoon, his soul took its triumphant flight to everlasting glory. [69] The Revd John Newton, Rector of St. Mary Woolnoth, London, preached his funeral Sermon, from 1st Thess^s 2-8th which he afterwards published.

The person of Dr Conyers was tall and elegant; his aspect was both mild and majestic; his eyes beamed benignity, and his expressive countenance indicated a mind replete with sympathetic tenderness. His bosom was the evidence of the most genuine and diffusive philanthropy. The urbanity of his manners [70] was singularly attractive. The exquisite sensibility of his nature deeply interested him in the joys and sorrows of all his acquaintances. In parlour conversation and scriptural exposition, he peculiarly excelled. To the Body of men he was a Father in charity: to their souls he was a servant in humility. Twenty eight years⁵⁶ Jesus Christ and him crucified, was the centre of his affections, and the unsearchable riches of Christ his invariable theme. [71] To enjoy a larger measure of his presence he frequently longed to be dissolved.⁵⁷ And now he is before his face, basking in the beams of that ineffable glory that proceeds from the throne of God, and of the Lamb.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ At this time the Sermon was preached after Morning Prayer - hence the Blessing was given from the Pulpit rather than the Altar, and if invocatory in form, quite properly kneeling rather than standing.

⁵⁶ 'twenty-eight years', i.e. from 1758, the date of his conversion.

⁵⁷ 'dissolved', i.e. 'to die'.

⁵⁸ Revelation 22:3-5

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THE NORMAN ORIGINS OF THE SAVILE FAMILY

By J. Barrie Raynor

Definitive studies of the early history of the Savile family carried out by Clay and Baildon in the 1920s attempted to identify the village in Normandy from where the family name originated. New evidence is presented to show that the most likely candidate is the village of Serville, now called Daubeuf Serville, in Seine Maritime, 50km NW of Rouen. It is likely that the first Saviles came to Yorkshire in the twelfth century and may have been members of the Normandy Hébert family. They certainly had strong connections with the Warenne family fief in the Pays de Caux area of Normandy which would be the reason for them to go to Yorkshire where they became important persons in the Wakefield manor held by the Earl of Warenne who was tenant-in-chief. It was only then that they needed to be identified by the locative name de Savile. The name of the Normandy village Serville itself arises from the Frankish personal name Saro (meaning a suit of armour) + villa not, as often quoted, from a Scandinavian (Viking) personal name.

The early history of the Savile family has been well researched by J. W. Clay and W. Paley Baildon, and their papers, published in this Journal in the 1920s, still remain the definitive study of the family.¹ The family has a well-documented genealogy from the early thirteenth century arising from their holding various manors in the West Riding of Yorkshire as well as their appearances in visitation and armorial records. From a record of 1225, a Henry de Seyvill held the manor of Golcar by virtue of his marriage to Agnes de Golcar, which was subsequently passed to his son John.² This manor passed through six further generations of Saviles, many of whom gained further manors by adventitious marriages with wealthy heiresses.

The above mentioned Henry and, in one case his brother Ralph, witnessed thirteen documents and charters recorded during the period from about 1200 to 1226 (Table 1) in the *Pontefract Chartulary*.³

The Cluniac Priory of St John, Pontefract was within the demesne of the great Honour of Pontefract of which Robert I de Laci was lord and who founded the Priory. The order in which the witnesses signed such documents was important since they were in order of seniority within the Honour with a *Domino* in all cases, where identified, heading the list. Of these thirteen witness lists, Savile leads in five cases (in which he was referred to as *Domino* twice), second once, third once, and fourth or fifth in the remaining six cases. This shows that Henry and Ralph Savile were important and respected members of the administration of the Honour and it

¹ J. W. Clay, 'The Savile Family', *YAJ*, 25 (1923), p. 1; W. Paley Baildon, 'Notes on the early Savile pedigree and the Butlers of Skelbrook and Kirk Sandal', *YAJ*, 28 (1926), p. 380.

² Baildon, *loc.cit.*

³ R. Holmes (ed.), *The Chartulary of St. John of Pontefract*, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series, 25 (1898) and 30 (1901).

Chartulary No. with date if known	Name as written	Position in list, title,	Those named above Savile in the list having a title
227 ^a	Henrico de Seville	1st	
267 [c. 1210]	Henrico de Sewilla	5th	
336	Henrico de Siewilla	4th	1st <i>Magistro</i>
340 [1222]	Radulfo de Saivile Henrico de Saivile	4th 5th	3rd <i>Bailivo</i>
347	Henrico de Sevilla	3rd	1st <i>Domino</i> and <i>Capellano</i> , 2nd <i>Capellano</i>
355	Henrico de Sewilla	1st, <i>Domino</i>	
362	Henrico de Servilla	1st, <i>Domino</i>	
367 [<1222]	Henrico de Seville	2nd	1st <i>Domino</i>
374	Henrico de Seiwilla	5th	1st <i>Ballivo</i>
390 [c. 1200]	Henrico de Seville	5th	1st <i>Seneschal</i>
392	Henrico de Seville	1st	
456 ^b	Henrico de Sewilla	5th	1st <i>Senescal</i>
522	Henrico de Saivile	1st	

^a from Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series, 25 (1898) p. 297.

^b also in Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series, 30 (1901) p. 558.

Table 1. Savile witnesses to documents recorded in the Pontefract Chartulary, showing their position in the list of witnesses and those above them who have titles. The lists have between five and eleven named witnesses followed by the words *et aliis*. In most cases, dates are unknown.³

would have been almost certain that their parents and grandparents would have held responsible manorial positions also. This also explains why Henry Savile was an acceptable consort for Agnes de Golcar, who was the daughter of a manorial lord.

The Henry and Ralph personal names are typically Norman. Their family name, as recorded in these documents, was variously spelt Saivile, Seiwilla, Seville, Sevilla, Sewilla and Siewilla,⁴ in all cases prefixed by *de*. This prefix strongly suggests a locative origin and, since there is no trace of a hamlet or manor called Savile or any name which could become Savile in Yorkshire or anywhere else in England, we can reasonably assume that the origin is likely to be in Normandy.

⁴ Baildon, *loc.cit.*

However, it needs to be shown that the Saviles came first to Yorkshire at some stage prior to 1200. A useful method of researching the distribution of surnames is to analyse deaths recorded by the Registrar General in the period 1842-1846. Distribution maps of deaths in this period of those with the name Savile or variants show clusters in West Yorkshire in the Halifax, Huddersfield and Bradford areas and adjacent parishes, and in Essex and Hertfordshire, with almost none elsewhere other than London, as might be expected.⁵ Such distribution maps are useful because they pre-date the significant movement of people which occurred after the advent of mass rail travel and directs us to likely areas of initial settlement in England. The earliest recorded occurrence of the Savile name in Essex is in the 1377 Poll Tax⁶ records (7 occurrences in five villages) but the name does not appear in

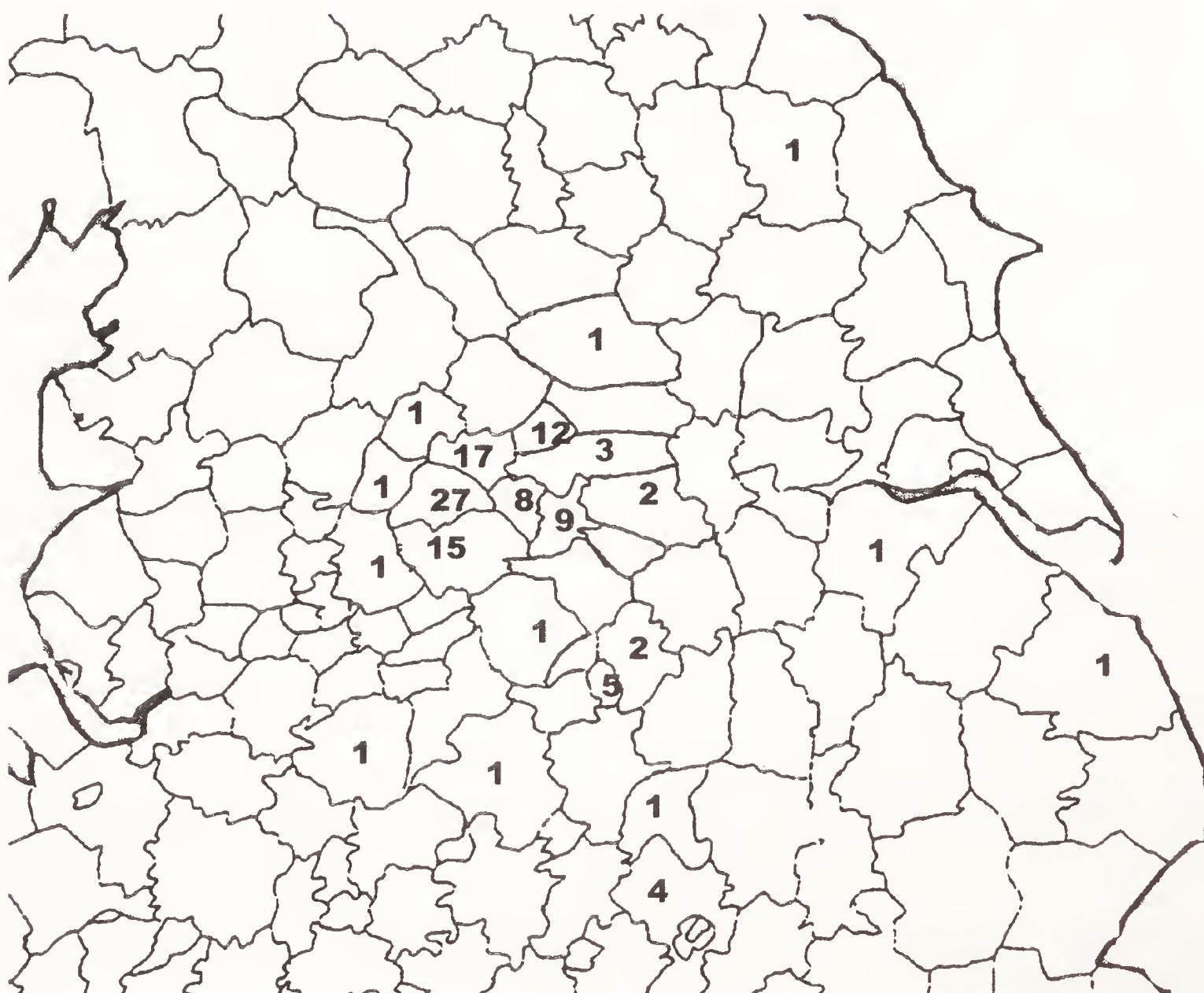


Fig. 1 Distribution of deaths of Saviles registered in 1842-46 centred on the West Riding of Yorkshire. The map shows Registration Districts with the numbers of deaths registered (27 is Halifax).

⁵ S. Lewis, *Topographical Dictionaries of England and Wales*. (London, 1849); David Hey, *Family names and family history*, (Hambledon and London, 2000).

⁶ Carolyn C. Fenwick, *The Poll Taxes of 1377, 1379 and 1381, Part 1*, (The British Academy, 1998), pp. 197, 205, 216, 218, 230 and 242.

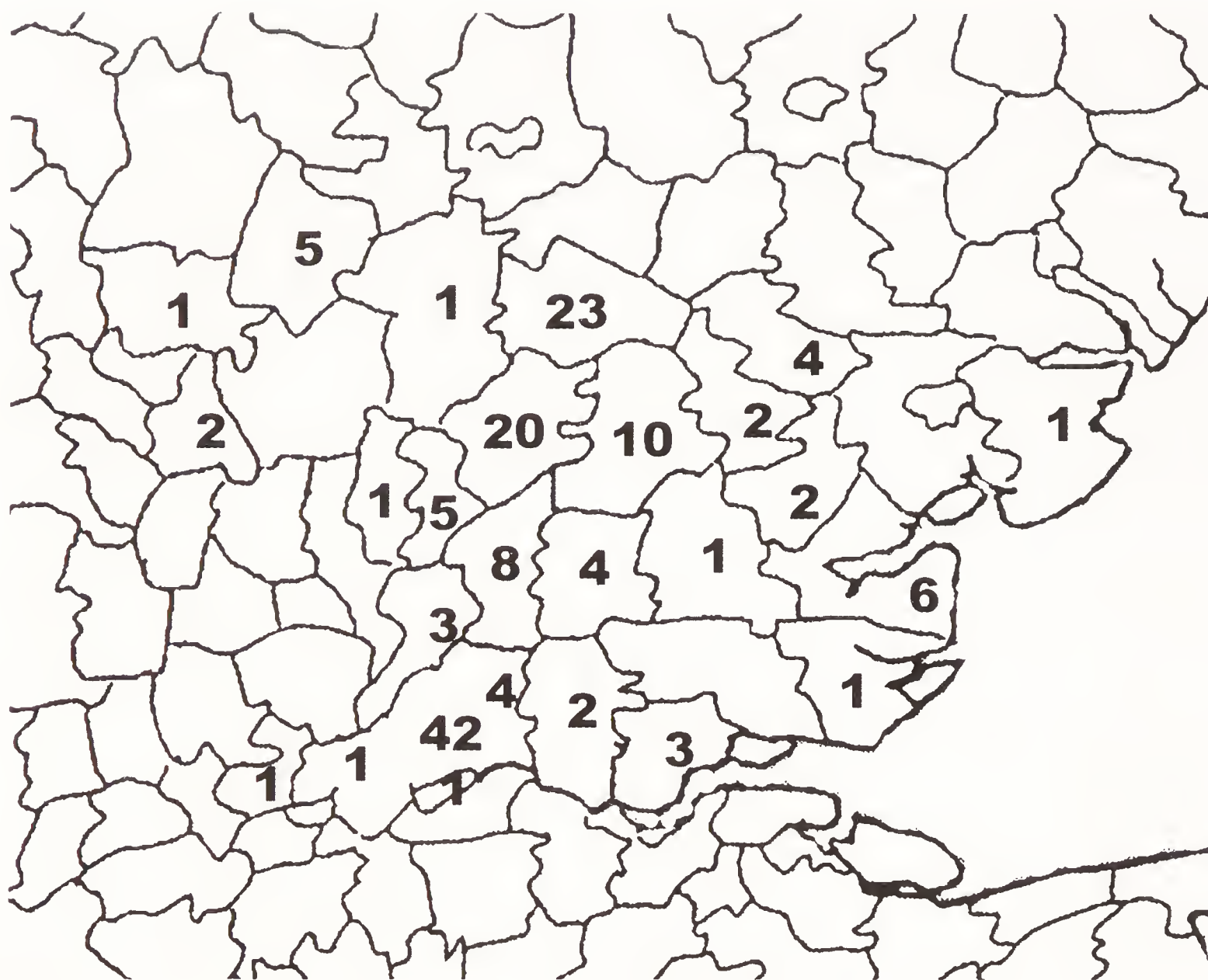


Fig. 2 Distribution of deaths of Saviles registered in 1842-46 centred on Hertfordshire and Essex. The map shows Registration Districts with the numbers of deaths registered (23 is Saffron Waldon, 42 is London and Middlesex).

any pedigree in the visitations of Essex.⁷ This suggests that although the Essex Saviles possessed land, they did not hold any manors nor were they of noble blood. Unfortunately the Poll Tax records for Hertfordshire have not survived, and Hertfordshire visitations show no Savile families, just a few individuals marrying into the main county families identified.⁸ It can be concluded that Saviles in Hertfordshire and Essex had a separate origin or arose from a migration of descendants of a junior line of the Yorkshire Saviles some time after their original settlement in Yorkshire.

In his detailed study, Baildon,⁹ identified from the official *Dictionnaire des Postes et des Télégraphes* twelve towns and villages in France having names that might approximate to Savile. He dismissed most of these because they were remote from the sphere of Anglo-Norman influence and one, La Sevelle (Eure) in the heart of

⁷ 'The Visitations of Essex', *Harleian Society* 13 (1878) and 14 (1879).

⁸ 'The Visitations of Hertfordshire', *Harleian Society* 22 (1886).

⁹ Baildon, *loc.cit.*

Normandy, he rejected because the family in Yorkshire were never called *de la Savile*. He considered two distinct possibilities, namely the twin villages Séveilles le Bas and Séveilles le Haut (Seine et Marne) and Sevilly (Orne), were the most likely source of the name Savile but provided no further evidence.

A new and better listing of 36,860 towns and villages in France allows us to identify the following places which need to be considered as potential origins of the Savile surname.¹⁰ Each will be considered in turn with particular reference to the way the village name was spelt in the earliest documents. Since medieval spellings were largely phonetic, then we are seeking a close match between pronunciation of the Norman village name and the Yorkshire Savile surname as written in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The following village names need to be considered:

- Séveilles le Bas and Séveilles le Haut (Seine et Marne), short-listed by Baildon. The earliest reference to these villages shows the spelling Septvieles (1295)¹¹ and can be rejected because it is well to the east of Norman lands as well as the pronunciation of the village name.
- Sevilly (Orne) was misspelt by Baildon and should be spelt Sevigny and so can be dismissed also.

Other possibilities are:

- Survie (Orne): the earliest reference shows the spelling Sorvie (1209).¹²
- Surville (Calvados): the earliest reference shows the spelling Surevilla (1180).¹³
- Surville (Eure): the earliest reference shows the spelling Saarville (1216) and Soarvilla (1221).¹⁴
- Surville (Manche): the earliest reference shows the spelling Suravilla (1164) and Surevilla (1195).¹⁵
- Sierville (Seine Maritime): the earliest reference shows the spelling Schiervill (1st quarter of 11th century) and Sehervillam (1142).¹⁶

¹⁰ Michel et Brigitte de la Torre, *Villes et Villages de France et des Dom-Tom* available through www.quid.fr/communes.html.

¹¹ *Dictionnaire Topographique de Département de Seine et Marne* (Imprimerie Impériale, Paris, 1865).

¹² Louis Duval, *Rapport sur l'orthographe des noms de communes du département de l'Orne* (Alençon, 1903)

¹³ *Dictionnaire Topographique de Département de Calvados* (Imprimerie Impériale, Paris, 1865).

¹⁴ *Dictionnaire Topographique de Département de l'Eure* (Marquis de Blosseville, Paris, 1877); M. Charpillon et A. Caresme, *Dictionnaire historique de toutes les communes du département de l'Eure* (Les Andelys : Delcroix, 1868-1879).

¹⁵ François de Beaurepaire, *Les noms des communes et anciennes paroisses de la Manche* (Picard, Paris, 1986), p. 222.

¹⁶ *Dictionnaire Topographique de Département de Seine Maritime* (Imprimerie Impériale, Paris, 1865).

- Sainneville (Seine Maritime): the earliest reference shows the spelling Sanavilla (1195).¹⁶
- Sainville (Eure et Loir): the earliest reference shows the spelling Sainvilla (1130, 1250), Seenvilla (1208).¹⁷

Each of these villages can be rejected because of the way the name of the village would have been pronounced at the time.

- Daubeuf Serville (Seine Maritime): the earliest reference shows the spelling Sorvilla (1210) and Serevilla (1227 until 1466 whence it was usually spelt Serville).¹⁶ The two villages in the Pays de Caux, Daubeuf le Sec and Serville 50km NW of Rouen were joined administratively in 1822 to form Daubeuf Serville. In Norman French, the 'r' was usually effaced with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel.¹⁸ The pronunciation would be close to sě'vile which is phonetically very close to most of the early Yorkshire 'Savile' spellings and so makes it a strong contender for the village from where the Yorkshire Saviles originated.

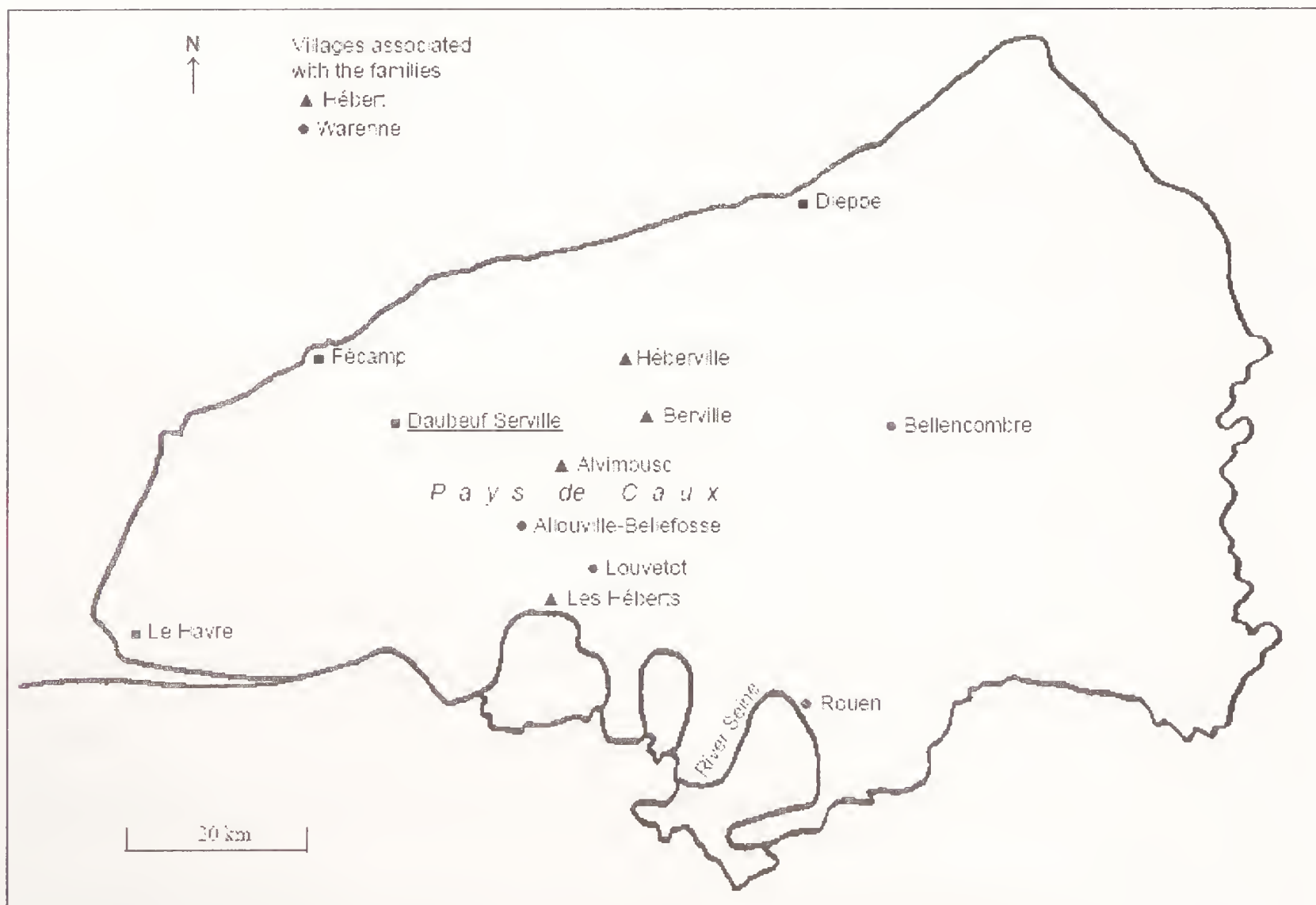


Fig. 3 Map of the Department of Seine Maritime showing villages mentioned in the text.

¹⁷ *Dictionnaire Topographique de Département d'Eure-et-Loir* (Imprimerie Impériale, Paris, 1861).

¹⁸ M. K. Pope, *From Latin to Modern French with especial consideration of Norman French: phonology and morphology* (Manchester University Press, 1934), pp. 156, 450.

• Serville (Eure et Loir): the earliest reference shows the spelling Servilla (12th century).¹⁹ This village cannot be rejected because the name clearly has a similar pronunciation to Daubeuf Serville above. However, this village was within the County of Blois-Chartres then held under the French Crown and outside the direct influence of the Norman Dukes and so makes it a less likely source for an migrant to England.

The village of Serville (Seine Maritime) is close to the heartland of the Warenne influence which extended over much of the Department of Seine Maritime.²⁰ The Warenne fief was based around Bellencombre in the Varenne valley south of Dieppe but included major lands in Rouen and at Allouville-Bellefosse and Louvetot in the Pays de Caux northwest of Rouen, the latter two being only 20km from Serville (Fig. 3). It is this proximity to Serville that strongly suggests why the first 'Savile' migrant came to Yorkshire and became associated with the Wakefield (Warenne) manor. It was probably only after his marriage to Agnes of Golcar that he worked for the Pontefract manor and witnessed charters for the Cluniac priory of St John's, Pontefract, which was founded by the Lacy family.

Most of the wapentakes of Morley, Agbrigg, Osgoldcross and Staincross were held by the Lacys (tenants-in-chief of the manor of Pontefract) and the Warennes (tenants-in-chief of the manor of Wakefield). The relationship between the Lacy and Warenne families was good; the manorial lord Robert de Lacy II had married Isabella, daughter of the 5th Earl of Warenne in the mid 1100s and there was collaboration between the two great manors. Golcar, a small manor in the parish of Huddersfield, was originally in the Manor of Pontefract but at some stage before 1166 was transferred to the Warenne fee, probably because of its remoteness from Pontefract.²¹ This was the first manor obtained by the Saviles, through marriage to Agnes de Golcar which was c.1185. It is very unlikely that the first 'Savile' migrant was associated with the Lacy fief in France which was based largely in the Department of Orne.



Fig. 4 The arms of the Savile and Hébert families

¹⁹ *Dictionnaire Topographique de Département de l'Eure et Loir* (Imprimerie Impériale, Paris, 1861).

²⁰ L. C. Loyd, 'The Origin of the Family of Warenne', *YAJ*, 31 (1934), p. 97.

²¹ 'Honour of Warenne', *Early English Charters*, VIII (1949), p. 181.

Further evidence comes from a study of the Savile heraldic arms (Fig. 4).²² The first recorded Savile coat of arms was for two Saviles named 'Mons. John Sayvill', who were father (born c. 1325) and son (born c. 1355), which appears in the Willement's Roll of Arms originally compiled about 1395 and now in the British Library.²³ The written blazon is 'Argent on a Bend Sable three Owls Argent'. Incidentally, those Saviles living in the Essex area were never associated with a heraldic shield with three owls on it. These two John Sayvills appear in the 1379 Poll Tax returns for Yorkshire²⁴ as Sir John, who was taxed at 20s, and John, taxed at 4d, both living in Elland and direct descendants of Henry above.

By a fortuitous coincidence, one branch of the Hébert family in Normandy had heraldic arms which were identical to those of the Yorkshire Saviles.²⁵ Whilst it can be dangerous to conclude that families bearing similar arms were associated, nevertheless it is worth investigating further and may provide clues to the Savile Norman origins. The Héberts were a wealthy family with many branches in northern France, each with distinctive heraldic arms. The earliest records of the 'three owls' Hébert arms was their registration in Rouen in 1666²⁶ and their appearance in the tax returns of 1696 for the Rouen tax district (*généralité*).²⁷ Their influence in the Pays de Caux must have been significant at an earlier date since a Joh. de Herbers held land in Hameau des Heuberts (now called Les Héberts) in the commune of Betteville in 1222¹⁶ and Fleurence Hébert held part fiefs in Alvimbusc and Berville near Veauville in 1503.²⁸ There is also the village tantalisingly named Hébertville 25km ENE of Serville, first recorded in 1155 as Herbervilla and later in the fief of Gifford.¹⁶

Whilst the use of arms in France was much less formalised compared with England before the seventeenth century, nevertheless the coincidence of the distribution of the Hébert village name and fiefs and the Warenne influence cannot be ignored and the relationship can be accepted as significant.

So it is likely that the Saviles settled in Yorkshire at some time in the twelfth century. The Henry and Ralph from Serville may have been members of the Hébert family and certainly had strong connections with the Warenne family fief in the Pays de Caux

²² *Dictionary of British arms, vol. 2, Medieval ordinary*, ed. D. H. B. Chesshyre, (Society of Antiquaries, London, 1996).

²³ British Library (BL Egerton ms 3713) in *A Roll of Arms of the Reign of Richard the Second*, ed. Thomas Willement (London, 1834).

²⁴ Carolyn C. Fenwick, *The Poll Taxes of 1377, 1379 and 1381, part 3*, (The British Academy, 1998), pp. 183-4.

²⁵ *Armorial général de J..B. Rietstap*, Supplement by V. Rolland (Paris, 1907).

²⁶ Pierre L'Estourmy, *La Recherche de Noblesse de 1666 Pour la Généralité de Rouen, dite Recherche de la Galissonnière. Election de Rouen* (Pierre L'Estourmy, Saint-Pois, n.d.).

²⁷ *Armorial général de France (édit de novembre 1696): Généralité de Rouen* (A. Picard, Paris, 1910).

²⁸ A. Beaurousin, *Registre des fiefs et arrière-fiefs du Bailliage de Caux en 1503*. (Rouen, 1891).

area of Normandy. As Golding has suggested, tenants-in-chief recruited either vassals who already held lands of their lord in Normandy or loyal followers, family or those related by marriage, to serve in their administration.²⁹ While this can never be proved, the circumstantial evidence is persuasive and provides the most plausible explanation for the family origins.

Addendum

It has been suggested that the name of the village Serville in Seine Maritime originated from the Viking personal name Saro + villa; that is, the domaine of Saro, as hundreds of other Normandy settlements are so named.³⁰ Unfortunately, the personal name Saro is not Scandinavian but Frankish, meaning a suit of armour.³¹ This suggests that either a Frank called Saro was a mercenary or settler with the Scandinavians and travelled with the Vikings in one of their early tenth-century raids on lands around the Seine estuary, or more likely that he travelled with the Franks during the earlier colonisation of Neustria by Charlemagne in the eighth century. There are more villages in France with names based on Frankish personal names than are based on Scandinavian personal names.

²⁹ B. Gouding, *Conquest and Colonisation: The Normans in Britain 1066 - 1100* (Palgrave, 2002).

³⁰ <http://www.normandieweb.org/76/goderville/daubeufserville/index.html>.

³¹ *Pers. comm.*, Gillian Fellows-Jensen and Peder Gammeltoft.

MONASTIC CASH AT THE DISSOLUTION

By Michael Collinson

The Yorkshire records of the Court of Augmentations show that in the later stages of the dissolution some monastic houses surrendered to the crown soon after their autumn rent day, e.g. Kirkstall Abbey, which surrendered 22 November 1539. The crown made no claim to the recent rents, although there were some substantial sums, including over £450 at Guisborough Priory. It is suggested that the money was allowed to disappear quietly, the beneficiaries being the departing monks, and that this was part of the government's policy of completing the dissolution quickly and without trouble.

Much is now known about the lives and careers of the former religious besides the basic facts about the pensions awarded to them.¹ Less is known about what the brothers and sisters were able to take away with them when they made way for the demolition men and the new owners and tenants. This note, which results from a study of the surrender of the Cistercian house of Kirkstall and its estates, suggests another source of cash which may have benefited at least some of the monastic community.

The principle of not claiming for the crown monastic income due before the vesting date applied from the early stages of the dissolution. Under the Act of 1536 for the suppression of the smaller houses, royal officials – that is Receivers appointed by the Court of Augmentations – were responsible for income arising only after 1 March, the date set down in the Act.² Rievaulx, which as a major house was not affected by that Act, surrendered the year before Kirkstall, on 3 December 1538. Rents due there the preceding Martinmas (11 November) were likewise not the concern of the Augmentations Receiver.³ The same was true of Bolton Priory, which surrendered on 29 January 1539.⁴

Kirkstall Abbey surrendered on 22 November 1539. This was in the course of Dr Richard Layton's lightning tour of destruction. In the next seven days he took the surrenders of the nunneries of Kirkstall and Arthington, besides the greatest of the Yorkshire abbeys, St Mary's at York. In the following month St Leonard's Hospital at York and the abbeys of Selby and Meaux followed. Meanwhile Thomas Leigh, to name just one of his colleagues, was at work – Hampole Nunnery, Nostell and

¹ *Monks, Friars and Nuns in Sixteenth Century Yorkshire*, eds. Claire Cross and Noreen Vickers, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series 150 (1995), to which the writer of this note is much indebted.

² J. Youings, *The Dissolution of the Monasteries* (London 1971), pp. 48, 107-8.

³ *Cartularium Abbatie de Rievall*, ed. J. C. Atkinson, Surtees Society 83 (1887), pp. 310-34 (Ministers' Accounts 30-31 Hen. VIII).

⁴ *Bolton Priory Rentals and Ministers, Accounts 1473-1539*, ed. I. Kershaw, YASRS 132 (1970), p.35.

Pontefract Priors and Fountains Abbey in a week, then Nun Appleton Nunnery, Whitby Abbey, Mount Grace and Guisborough Priors in December.⁵ There were small foundations, which had been omitted in the first purge of religious houses, besides some of the most famous names in Yorkshire monasticism. Layton and Leigh were known already, being responsible for the Visitation of 1536 which preceded the Dissolution.⁶ Their speed and efficiency cannot be denied.

The accounts of the ministers, farmers and collectors of the former estates of Kirkstall Abbey for the year 1539-40 begin at Michaelmas (29 September) 1539 and therefore include a period of nearly eight weeks before the abbey's assets were vested in the crown.⁷ All revenue collected thereafter went to the Yorkshire Augmentations Receiver, Leonard Beckwith. Half the annual rents of many tenants, however, were due at the feast of St Martin in winter. That was just ten days before the surrender, so most of the accounts include payments made to the abbey within its last days of nominal independence. Some of what the abbey then received was in respect of the demesnes, parts of which were not in hand but had been let to local tenants. (The courtier to whom the abbey and demesnes were committed on their surrender was responsible to the Receiver for the yield from them in the rest of the year). Most of the receipts before the surrender came from the manors and other lands round Leeds, mainly through the local collector, Henry Mason. Nothing had come in from Bowland, over thirty miles away as the crow flies, or from most of Kirkstall's East Riding possessions. Remoteness from the abbey may explain why some collectors had delivered no money. It is also relevant that some rents were not collected at Martinmas, being due at Easter or Lady Day and Michaelmas, others at St Mark's (25 April), or the Nativity of the Virgin (8 September). Such rents, clearly, could not be part of the monks' autumn windfall. The whole year's revenue from these places from which nothing had been received by the monks before their surrender belonged to the crown.

Extracts from the Kirkstall accounts are given in Table 1. The Martinmas sums received were in some accounts a substantial part of the annual totals due. Thus £18.0s.2d. out of £51.14s.0d. charged for the whole year on the demesnes and £26.12s.2d. out of £60.18s.10d. charged on the manor of Headingley had reached the abbey. From Leeds and Chapel Allerton the monks somehow did better than the king. The total received by the abbot and convent before their surrender was less than the £512.7s.2½d. collected by the Receiver for the king but not insignificant. It was £215.16s.10½d., judging by the Kirkstall accounts, a penny farthing less according to the Kirkstall figures in the account of the Yorkshire Augmentations Receiver for that year. The Augmentations men were particular about recording halfpence even when they were not getting the money, though their arithmetic could be inconsistent. The total recorded by the Receiver, which we must regard as authoritative, was different again, that is £215.16s.9½d. It was for this sum that the official was exonerated 'for that this Martinmas fell before the free resignation of the

⁶ *LP* X, no.364.

⁷ The National Archives (Public Record Office), SC6/HEN8/4590. There is a microfilm at the Leeds Central Library.

Receipts divided thus			
	Abbot and convent	Augmentations Receiver	From
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	
Site and demesnes	18 10 02	31 07 10	Robert Pakenham, farmer
Headingley	26 12 02	32 17 06	Henry Mason, collector
Bramley and Armley	28 11 00¾ (½)	39 11 03¼	Same
Horsforth	17 17 05½	26 17 00½	Same
Cookridge	13 13 00½	26 06 10½	Same
Chapel Allerton	18 04 10¾ (9¾)	17 08 01¾	Same
Leeds	08 02 00	03 15 07	Same
‘Hamlets’, Snyderdale etc. includes rectory of Middleton near Pickering	23 09 00½	56 04 10	Same
Bardsey and Collingham	50 01 00	50 08 02	William Tankard and Thomas Stotheley
Bolland	00 00 00	49 12 00	Richard Banester
Burstall with rectory of Skeffling, Holderness	00 00 00	95 02 10	Thomas Herryson
Withernsea and Owthorne	00 00 00	41 06 02	Same
Aldbrough	10 16 00½	21 14 09½	Same
Pensions and Portions	00 00 00	19 14 02	Same
Totals	215 16 10½ (9¼)	512 07 02½	

Table 1. Kirkstall Abbey 1539-40

Extracts from Kirkstall Abbey Account Roll 1539-40 (TNA: SC6/HEN8/4590), with (in brackets) the slightly different figures quoted in the Account Roll of the Yorkshire Augmentations Receiver for the same period (TNA: LR6/121/1, m. 7d.). The totals given here are mine. The Receiver made the monks' share £215. 16s. 9½d., the combined shares for the year, king and monks, being £728. 4s. 0d.

	£ s. d.	
Hampole, Cistercian Nunnery (19)	14 12 02	19 Nov. 1539
Kirklees, Cistercian Nunnery (7)	05 11 02	23 Nov. 1539
Arthington, Cluniac Nunnery (11)	03 00 02	26 Nov. 1539
Nun Appleton, Cistercian Nunnery (19)	19 17 07¾	05 Dec. 1539
Hull, Charterhouse (7)	07 08 04	09 Dec. 1539
S. Oswald, Nostell, Augustinian Priory (29)	87 15 02½	20 Nov. 1539
Pontefract, Cluniac Priory (13)	93 03 04¼	23 Nov. 1539
Kirkstall, Cistercian Abbey (31)	215 16 09½	22 Nov. 1539
York, S. Mary's, Benedictine Abbey (25)	181 04 07½	26 Nov. 1539
Selby, Benedictine Abbey (24)	209 09 06¼	06 Dec. 1539
Meaux, Cistercian Abbey (25)	218 03 02½	11 Dec. 1539
Malton, Gilbertine Priory (11)	78 14 10¼	11 Dec. 1539
Whitby, Benedictine Abbey (22)	198 04 01	14 Dec. 1539
Mountgrace, Charterhouse (27)	120 10 11¾	18 Dec. 1539
Guisborough, Augustinian Priory (25)	453 06 05	22 Dec. 1539

Table 2. Yorkshire Augmentations Receiver 1539-40

Extracts from the Account Roll of the Yorkshire Augmentations Receiver for 1539-40 (TNA: LR6/121/1, mm. 102,103), showing the amount received by the religious before surrender. The dates of surrender and (in brackets) the numbers of pensions awarded have been added. The total given in the account is £1905. 16s. 7½d. (altered from £1908. 13s. 5½d.). The actual total, assuming that the figures are correctly extracted, there being some obscurities, seems to be £1906. 18s. 6¼d.

monastery'. He recorded other sums under the headings of, in all, fifteen houses 'nationalised' about the same time, totalling over £1,900.⁸ Details are given in Table 2. (These are, one should note, from the account of the Yorkshire Receiver for 1539-40, which does not cover the whole county. Fountains, which surrendered 26 November 1539, for example, was the responsibility of the Receiver for the Archdeaconry of Richmond, whose accounts have not been included in this study).

Official policy in late 1539 was to obtain surrenders quickly and without friction, and to treat the cooperative or cowed religious with some indulgence. They were to have rewards and a share of the goods in accordance with their ranks and the wealth of the house besides pensions.⁹ Earlier, in February 1539 when Layton had gone to Lincolnshire, he and his colleagues had a discretionary power to give part of the money and goods to the monks.¹⁰ The crown was less concerned with cash than with jewels, plate, bells and lead. It never knew how much ready money was in the abbeys. By this stage, seemingly, it was content to let much of it go.

⁸ TNA, LR6/121/1.
⁹ *LP*, XIV(i), no.1189; G. W. O. Woodward, *The Dissolution of the Monasteries* (London, 1966), pp.113-14.
¹⁰ Youings, *Dissolution*, pp. 176-77.

Obscurity remains about the details for some surrenders. What was said at meetings with the commissioners is not normally recorded. The eye-witness description of events at Roche in the summer of 1538, with monks trying to sell their cell doors, is a rarity.¹¹ It would also be interesting to know more of the settlement of debts. This is said to have been a normal duty of dissolution commissioners.¹² In practice, procedure varied. What was done at Kirkstall is not at present known. At Byland, Rievaulx and Kirkham, in November and December 1538, the abbot was made responsible for paying debts with the benefit of collecting any due to the house.¹³ At Roche the crown agreed to pay the debts.¹⁴ At Bolton, on the other hand, the prior took the responsibility.¹⁵

It is clear, however, that the recent rents listed in Table 1 were not claimed for the king and were not, therefore, available to the Receiver if he had debts to pay. Consequently any balance remaining from the November receipts could disappear with the departing religious on or soon after the day of surrender – that is, if it had not already been shared out before the commissioners came. Evidence noticed by Professor Hoyle shows what was done at Fountains a little before its surrender with the entry fines given by tenants for leases. These were then being hastily disposed of by the monks, conscious that their days were numbered. The payments were, in the words of the former abbot, 'distribute emongest the co(n)vent', apparently with no account kept.¹⁶ It is hard to believe that this did not happen elsewhere. It also seems fair to suggest that the same was done with unspent rent revenue received at a house shortly before its surrender. The sums varied, ranging from over £450 at Guisborough Priory, the fourth richest house in Yorkshire, to three pounds and twopence at the little nunnery of Arthington, which would not go far amongst the eleven pious ladies made redundant there. Where there was money worth sharing we can only hope that it was distributed more equitably than the assignment of pensions by the king's officials. At Kirkstall that meant £66.13s.4d. a year for the abbot and five or six pounds each for most of the monks.¹⁷ However it was done, there was, it seems, a quiet bonus for at least some of the departing religious. Perhaps this, like the crown's tolerance of the leases, pensions and annuities which the monks had liberally distributed to their tenants, friends and neighbours, helped to ease the rapid final stages of the dissolution. It is tempting to think that such was the intention.

¹¹ *Tudor Treatises*, ed. A. G. Dickens, YASRS 125 (1959), pp. 123-25.

¹² Youings, *Dissolution*, p. 74.

¹³ A. Savine, *English Monasteries on the Eve of the Dissolution* (Oxford 1909), p. 214.

¹⁴ *LP*, XIII(ii), App. 25.

¹⁵ Kershaw, *Bolton Priory*, p. 24

¹⁶ Richard Hoyle, 'Monastic Leasing before the Dissolution', *YAJ*, 61 (1989), p. 117; TNA, E321/39/3.

¹⁷ Cross and Vickers, *Monks, Friars and Nuns*, pp. 142-43.

OBITUARY

In error, and with consequent apologies to his family and friends, a draft of this obituary was printed in *YAJ* 79 (2007).

IAN HOWARD GOODALL

(23 JANUARY 1948-16 AUGUST 2006)

Ian was born in York and spent most of his life in the city. He went to Nunthorpe Grammar School and first became interested in York's architectural heritage as a schoolboy. He attended evening classes taught by staff from the York office of the Royal Commission of Historical Monuments of England which inspired his choice of career.

In October 1966 Ian went to the University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire (now the University of Cardiff) to read History but soon transferred to Archaeology. He graduated with a First in 1969, and stayed in Cardiff to undertake a pioneering study of medieval ironwork in Britain for his doctoral thesis (*Ironwork in Medieval Britain: an archaeological study*, 1980).

He returned to York in 1972 when he joined the Royal Commission and remained there for the rest of his life. He began his career as an archaeological investigator but moved to the architectural division in 1975, becoming Head of the York office in 1990. For more than thirty years he contributed to numerous publications on buildings in Yorkshire and elsewhere for the Royal Commission, including *The York Inventory*, Volume 5 (1981), *The Houses of the North York Moors* (1987), *Yorkshire Textile Mills* (1992) and *English Hospitals* (1998).

In addition to his professional work, Ian was interested in and involved with many other aspects of Yorkshire's archaeology and architectural heritage. He wrote his undergraduate dissertation on aspects of Romano-British villas near Malton and was one of the founding editors of *York Historian* in 1974. He published research on architectural topics in scholarly journals and also continued to write specialist contributions on Medieval and later ironwork for museum catalogues and archaeological reports, such as Wharram Percy and Winchester.

He became a member of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society as an undergraduate in 1967 and served on the Council from 1974-1979. He also belonged to the Family History, Medieval and Industrial History sections. He was a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London, being elected in 1982.

Ian was an immensely courteous man who could sometimes appear to be rather reserved on first acquaintance, but was valued by a very wide circle of friends, ranging from colleagues with current professional interests to people he had known at much earlier periods, such as his contemporaries from his Cardiff days. Many of these were startled by his recent enthusiasm for very fast motor bikes, and all were devastated by the news of his sudden illness and untimely death.

Ian is survived by his wife Alison and their son Edward, both of whom took their degrees in Archaeology.

Jennifer Price

BOOK REVIEWS

THE POLL TAXES OF 1377, 1379 AND 1381, PART III WILTSHIRE - YORKSHIRE. Edited by CAROLYN C. FENWICK. Pp. xii and 794. Records of Social and Economic History, New Series, vol. 37. Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 2005. ISBN 0-19-726336-4. Price £70.00

This third volume in Carolyn Fenwick's monumental edition of the extant poll tax records from the later fourteenth century completes the lay returns. A fourth volume of ecclesiastical poll tax returns is promised. Part of the work is given over to a place name index to the three volumes. There are also a number of newly identified fragments that properly belong with the earlier volumes. These include a 1377 nominative return for Derby, divided by streets, and the Elloe wapentake of Lincolnshire for 1381. The Wiltshire returns account for 125 pages, including some very full returns for Salisbury in 1379. Worcestershire is represented solely by returns for the county town for 1377, listed by parish (and once mistaken for London parishes) and for 1381. The remainder of volume - rather more than 300 pages - comprises returns for the county of Yorkshire. Much has been published before and in this journal - the West Riding returns for 1379 rather more than a century ago, likewise those for Howdenshire for the same year and, rather more recently, the York returns for 1377. The fuller 1381 York returns were printed in 1953, but never actually published. The wonderfully complete nominative returns for Hull in 1377, arranged by street, appear for the first time. So do full listings of tax populations for virtually every settlement of any size for the first tax of 1377. This present volume makes all this material available in one place in a new, scholarly and fully indexed edition. The text reproduces the languages (mostly Latin, but with some French and English) and, so far as possible, the form of the original. In practice, since it is largely names, sums of money, terms such as 'his wife', 'her daughter', 'his son', 'her servant', and a few occupations that are recorded, language need not be an obstacle. A useful glossary of occupational terms is also provided. Researchers and local historians will thank Fenwick for many, many years to come.

The returns for the first tax of 1377 are generally considered the most useful as evidence for population. This edition allows the relative sizes of communities across the county to be compared. The detailed returns for York (incomplete) and Hull in the same year are especially valuable because they list names. Here we find numerous households containing adolescent servants, especially in the more prosperous areas such as York's Coney Street or Hull's Hull (now High) Street. We also find one John Gryse living with 'his woman' in Hull's poor suburb of Trippett and Richard de Freton of Hull Street cohabiting with Helen Clynk, 'his mistress'. The 1379 returns regularly identify numbers of tax payers by occupation. The Howdenshire returns are especially detailed in this respect. Those for the West Riding vary considerably; Strafforth wapentake is fairly informative, but Barkstone Ash is much less satisfactory. The relative importance of textiles, of metal working or tanning alongside sheep and cattle farming can readily be discerned. Even in 1379 Sheffield was a centre of metalworking and Wakefield a busy weaving town. This is a unique window into the regional economy three decades after the Black Death. Occupations

are also listed in the 1381 returns for York, but, frustratingly, not for the East Riding (including Beverley), though occupational bynames may provide clues. The instability of names at this period will make this source more problematic for the genealogist, but the proliferation of toponymics allows some consideration of patterns of migration.

Let it be hoped that reference and local history libraries will realise the importance of this work, but it is a matter of regret that no electronic, and hence searchable edition, has been issued alongside the printed text. Those that know it will continue to find of value the *YAJ* edition of the 1379 returns on the GENUKI website.

University of York

Jeremy Goldberg

RICHARD SCROPE: ARCHBISHOP, REBEL, MARTYR. Edited by P. J. P. GOLDBERG. Pp. 246. Donnington: Shaun Tyas, 2007. ISBN 978-1-900289-84-9. Price £35.00

One of the events organised to commemorate the six hundredth anniversary of the rebellion and execution of Archbishop Richard Scrope in 2005 was a conference in York. The proceedings, supplemented by specially commissioned essays, have been published in a handsome volume by Shaun Tyas. The editor, Jeremy Goldberg, has brought together a collection by nine authors, which provides a balanced study and reconsideration of Scrope's life, death and afterlife. More than any other work available it penetrates the enigma of this most strange event, and places Scrope's tragedy in its wider context.

Robert Swanson establishes that until 1405 Scrope was a conventional aristocratic ecclesiastic. There was little before his ill-fated protest against Henry IV to suggest anyone other than a well-connected careerist and conscientious administrator with fashionable spiritual leanings. While he may have regretted the eclipse of his cousins, the Scropes of Bolton in 1399, he outwardly accommodated himself to the Lancastrian regime. In 1399 he did not share the principled opposition of his suffragen, the bishop of Carlisle. What was it six years later that led to a change in attitude? The contributors to this volume follow the analysis offered by the late Simon Walker that Scrope was not the naïve dupe of the earl of Northumberland. His involvement, the raising of the clergy and his tenants in armed protest, was a parallel but essentially independent movement that allied itself with the Yorkshire rebels.

Christian Liddy convincingly demonstrates that, despite the ritual abasement and Walsingham's assertion that almost all the citizens eagerly joined Scrope, the archbishop was supported only by a faction of the civic elite. Their participation was the consequence of local politics, and in particular the domination of city affairs for several years by the king's man, William Frost. Frost was removed from the mayoralty in the spring of 1405 before the rising, but he was reinstated as keeper by Henry IV

and ensured that the city was treated lightly by the king. Melanie Devine shows that Scrope's kinsmen in his native Richmondshire were not involved. His brother Henry, lord Scrope of Masham, was a committed servant of the new regime, at the time fighting in Wales, who was rewarded after the rising with the grant of the forfeited Mowbray properties of Thirsk and Hovingham, while north-western Yorkshire was firmly under the control of another king's man, the earl of Westmorland. The risings in northern Yorkshire led by Mowbray, she confirms, were the continuation of armed Percy opposition begun in 1403, and quite separate from the archbishop's protest.

What that protest was is the subject of Mark Ormrod's contribution. He argues from a close reading of his manifesto that Scrope took up the traditional role of clerical resistance to unjust taxation and misgovernment. But precisely why this experienced and well-placed politician chose to go beyond the conventional route of council, convocation and parliament, to which he had full access, to press his case by means of armed protest remains an enigma. As Pat Cullum shows, for an aristocratic prelate, familiar with the tradition of baronial rebellion and the use of the sword for political ends, military action was not itself unprecedented. But why, if he was involved in loyal demonstration, did he hitch his wagon to a baronial revolt which clearly had as its goal the deposition of the king? Scrope was not naïve, not unworldly and not a dupe. Yet his opportunist rising was foolish.

The folly is the key to the cult. It was because he was perceived and represented as a Holy Fool that a cult developed so quickly after his death. His private life, Cullum suggests, was blameless. He was represented as a virgin; and probably was one. It says something of the reputation of the late-medieval clergy that an archbishop should be marked out as special for being chaste. In this he was not unlike another Holy Fool, Henry VI, who, his biographer would have us believe, would have preferred to have remained a virgin. Scrope was helped, of course, by his king, who against all advice insisted on his execution; and, if Clement Maidstone's hagiography is reliable, he took advantage of the occasion, a public holiday, to act out a martyrdom by wearing blue, riding on an old nag and asking his executioner to strike with the sword five times in imitation of the five wounds of Christ. As both Diana Pironyansky and Stephen Wright point out, Scrope's adherents made sure that his death was represented as a martyrdom. Wright also explores the significance of an early poem which enjoins its listeners to think on Whitsonmonday, the day he was executed. This call to remembrance, he notes, links Scrope directly to the risen Christ at Pentecost. He argues too, perhaps with a dash of wishful thinking, that so ingrained became Scrope's martyrdom that his fate was conjured up by audiences when they witnessed the annual performance of Christ's passion in the Corpus Christi plays.

Sarah Rees Jones explores further the role of a circle of influential families, citizens and gentry who were descendants of rebels, in sustaining the cult. It was focussed on the neighbourhood of Micklegate, where the patronage of the church of St Martin lay in Scrope hands and the family owned a town house; and where the nearby priory of Holy Trinity was linked with the newly-formed Guild of Corpus Christi of which many were members. It was in this group that the Bolton Hours,

with its heavy emphasis on the blessed Richard Scrope, circulated. Over time, she argues, the cult, which transformed Scrope from a condemned traitor to a martyr, came to promote through their advocacy reconciliation and harmony in a city which at the time of the rebellion had been deeply divided.

The most magnificent legacy of the cult is, however, the east end of the Minster. One cannot do justice in a relatively short review to the breadth and depth of Christopher Norton's essay, which takes up almost a third of the collection. He offers a meticulous review of the building of the east end and St Stephen's chapel to which Scrope made significant contributions both in life and post mortem through the offerings made at his shrine. He considers among other matters the sequence of the building, the glazing scheme, the place of Scrope's burial, access to it during reconstruction, the role of the Scrope of Masham family in sustaining the mausoleum in their chapel, and the question of whether the archbishop's remains were translated. Canonised Richard Scrope was not. The cost of securing papal approval was too high and the issue became politicised in the early years of Edward IV's reign to the evident dismay of the Dean and Chapter. Richard Scrope was a figure offering reconciliation and harmony to City and pilgrims: he was not to be made into a Yorkist dynastic saint. Yet the first decade of Edward IV's reign marked the apogee of his cult. Thereafter, while popular veneration continued through to the Reformation, the interest of the city elite waned. In effect the cult became subsumed in that of St William. It was essentially a fifteenth-century phenomenon.

In his valuable introduction, Jeremy Goldberg acknowledges that the collection is not the last word on Richard Scrope; it will nevertheless do very nicely as the penultimate. It is not often that a group of authors are brought together to write so singly and comprehensively on one topic. There are inevitably elements that this review has not stressed, such as the discussion of the visual representation of the archbishop in glass and manuscript, superbly supported by illustrations and diagrams. Editor, author and publisher have created a volume that will be pleasurable reading for all members of the YAS. It is a crying shame, however, and a disservice to them and others, that the editor was not able to provide an index.

University of Teesside

A. J. Pollard

'BLACK TOM': SIR THOMAS FAIRFAX AND THE ENGLISH REVOLUTION.
By ANDREW HOPPER. Manchester University Press: Manchester 2007. Pp. ix + 262. ISBN 97807 1907 1096. Price £16.99.

Dr. Hopper has given us the fourth and best major biography of Sir Thomas Fairfax, following in the wake of Clements Markham (1870), Mildred Ann Gibb (1938) and John Wilson (1985). For such an important figure, Fairfax left little in the way of personal, first-hand correspondence and any biographer is largely dependent upon seeing Fairfax through the words of contemporaries. The temptation, of course, is to expand upon the sparse evidence by writing a 'life and times' but Dr. Hopper has

eschewed this solution. Indeed, his honesty is such that he has tried to avoid repeating material presented in the three, earlier biographies. Consequently, the book is short and intelligent deduction often has to serve instead of primary evidence. For instance, it is uncertain whether Fairfax was aware of the plans to launch Pride's Purge: Hopper thinks that he probably was, despite Fairfax's denial in the Short Memorials, the product of a 'tired and troubled mind' (p. 5), but certainty is impossible. Similarly, Fairfax's decision to resign from the command of the New Model in 1650 was probably the result of a combination of declining health, distaste for operations against Scotland and increasing guilt about the execution of Charles I. The biography proper ends on page 151 at the end of Chapter Seven and the remainder of the volume comprises chapters in the manner of appendices on Religion and Honour; The Rider of the White Horse: Image and Reputation; Gender and Literature: Anne Fairfax and Andrew Marvell; and Fairfax and Cromwell. The hard-hearted might view these additions as an attempt to make a decent-length book out of a short study but they have value and add to the overall picture even if some of the material and ideas also find their way into the directly-biographical chapters. Overall, this study increases knowledge and understanding of Fairfax the politician, although military historians will perhaps be disappointed. Whilst not the last word on Fairfax, future historians will struggle to do better.

University of Leeds

John Childs

THE MONUMENTS OF THE PARISH CHURCH OF ST PETER-AT-LEEDS. By MARGARET PULLAN. Pp.xii + 252, including 16 pp. colour/black and white plates and extensive line drawings. Publications of the Thoresby Society, 2nd series, vol.17 for 2006. Leeds: Maney Publishing for The Thoresby Society and Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, 2007. ISBN: 978 1 905981 52 6. £24.50/US\$49.00 (paperback).

This well-produced volume represents a major contribution to Leeds history in the tradition of Ralph Thoresby's *Ducatus Leodiensis* of 1715: it will be welcomed by archaeologists, art historians and local historians alike. The history of Leeds, especially in the 17th to 19th centuries, is written on the walls of its parish church, many of the monuments being rescued from the old parish church and used to decorate the new one consecrated in 1841. These hundreds of monuments are thus scattered randomly throughout the church, many of them high-up and inaccessible to the general public. In recording all these and their locations, reproducing the inscriptions as near as possible in the original layout and typography, some with a line drawing as well, Margaret Pullan has done a great service. The whole is enhanced by a short introduction setting out the history of Leeds with the emergence of its merchant families from the 17th century and its industrialists from the 19th, and reminding us of the hazards of sudden and premature death from disease and accidents. There is also background information on artists and designers and an

interesting discussion of the unusual collection of Egglestone marble monuments, using stone largely recycled from the later middle-ages. Because the book is arranged by location, taking each section of the church in turn, there is a useful additional alphabetical listing of persons mentioned on the monuments with date of death to aid identification. Explanatory notes accompany each transcription, and there are photographs of some of the finest specimens. From W.D.Keyworth junior's carved effigy of Dr Walter Farquhar Hook, to the design of Sir George Gilbert Scott and resting on a tomb chest designed by George Edmund Street and carved by Anthony Welsh of Leeds (1878), to the undecorated brass tablet recording the short life of Thomas Thomason Fawcett, aged 4 (1812), local and national figures are memorialised. In the Lady Chapel, south wall, between the Great War monuments to the Old Contemptibles and the 17th Battalion, West Yorkshire Regiment, we are asked to remember Captain Lawrence Edward Grace Oates (died in the Antarctic, 1912) and Sir Nathan Bodington, first Vice-Chancellor of Leeds University. With its A4 format Margaret Pullan's is hardly a pocket book, but it is an invaluable guide not only for scholars in their studies but also for anyone with an hour to spare in the parish church in the company of some of the men and women whose lives have helped create the modern city of Leeds.

York

Edward Royle

THE YORKSHIRE CHURCH NOTES OF SIR STEPHEN GLYNNE. Edited by LAWRENCE BUTLER. Pp.xxiv + 514. 252 illustrations (32 in colour). YAS Record Series vol. CLIX for 2005 and 2006. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2007. Price £30.00. ISBN 978 1 903564 80 6

The reappearance of Sir Stephen Glynne's *Yorkshire Church Notes* in a much improved and revised format will be greatly welcomed by all who care about the mediaeval churches of the county. Although the text has been available for many years, scattered throughout ten volumes of the *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* published between 1893 and 1922, it has remained more an antiquarian curiosity than a useful tool of the architectural historian. In the new format, carefully and scholarly revised, annotated and introduced by Lawrence Butler, it has taken on a new life and is sure to attract and deserve the increased attention of ecclesiologists and historians for the light it sheds on changing attitudes to gothic churches over the period it covers.

Sir Stephen Glynne bart. by whom and for whose personal use these notes were made, was, as a short biography shows, a self-taught antiquary of sufficient leisure and means to allow him to travel throughout England and Wales in an ordered manner adding to his understanding of churches in particular. His views were coloured by Camdenian opinion of what a church should be and his opinions were expressed strongly when he felt so moved. This increases the interest of the text as

well as describing many church interiors which have since been materially changed, 'reordered' or have entirely vanished.

The Yorkshire notes cover the years from 1827 until Glynne's death in 1874 and in this edition they repeat the previously published text with only a few necessary minor changes but with the addition of helpful notes of correction or explanation in the light of subsequent events. The most noticeable change has been to rearrange the order alphabetically by parish throughout the whole county, making for quick and easy reference although at the cost of losing the feeling of urgency as Glynne rushed from church to church, sometimes as many as ten in a day, which is most apparent in some of the earliest entries. One class of record which is missing, and presumably not thought necessary to reproduce, is the occasional short sketch of architectural or other explanatory detail referred to as being in the original notebooks - brief jottings to aid a reputedly exceptional memory. Ample compensation is, however, to be found in the numerous illustrations which the editor has provided of prints or drawings, some in colour, chosen as nearly as possible to be contemporary with the dates at which the record was made. This feature has added immense value and interest to an already momentous publication. Such a collection of illustrations will be a constant source of reference as well as an incentive to explore the subjects further.

Of course this does not attempt to include every Yorkshire church, Pevsner has done that, but Glynne saw them before the hated galleries were removed or the box-pews, or 'pues' were chopped down or the 'horrid' square windows of the 18th century churchified. A good word is sometimes found for a mid-Victorian rebuilding but there it is the High Churchman who speaks, more inclined to count the proper number of steps to the altar than to appreciate the quaint quality of an eighteenth-century church. It would not be natural if a reader did not turn first to some church with which he was most familiar. For example to St Mary, Whitby, with its remarkable interior. Glynne, writing in 1827, is surprisingly reticent, simply saying 'the interior of the nave contains little remarkable, being almost wholly modernized and surrounded by large galleries on all sides'; whereas your reviewer recalls a visit in company with a learned archdeacon who raised his hands in horror at witnessing such an unexpected and unfamiliar sight.

Such questions of ecclesiastical fashion and supposed propriety as they relate to Glynne's opinions are ably dealt with by the editor in an introductory chapter. Derogatory terms much loved by polemical writers and familiar to readers of Pugin are not uncommon and need no longer be a cause of offence though they add interest and place the comments in a recognizable time frame. This whole publication has all the merits of a 'twice-told tale', the familiarity of the subject with the added benefit of all the detailed checking and research which has gone into its production. This handsome volume well deserves its place in the Record Series and the plaudits of all who use it.

MAPPING SADDLEWORTH: VOLUME 1. PRINTED MAPS OF THE PARISH. By MIKE BUCKLEY, DAVID HARRISON and ALAN PETFORD. Pp.232. Uppermill: Saddleworth Historical Society, 2007. ISBN: 978 0 904982 11 4. £19.95 + £5.95 p.& p. hardback (Order form from www.saddleworth-historical-society.org.uk).

Local history is about places as well as people and so maps are essential to understanding. Perhaps Saddleworth needs maps more than most places for it has always been an area of indeterminate location, never a nuclear settlement fixed by a single dot on the map. A chapelry in the parish of Rochdale (Lancashire) until 1869 and simultaneously a township in the West Riding it was lost to Yorkshire only in 1974. Even today, Saddleworth church appears to stand on a hillside in the middle of nowhere. This was a land of scattered farms and hamlets that developed into several larger but never large settlements between the Pennine ridge at Standedge (now the county boundary) and Oldham: Denshaw, Delph, Diggle and Dobcross; Grotton, Grasscroft and Greenfield. Uppermill emerged at the centre on the river Tame, and at the far western boundary lies that mysterious minor settlement whose name is engraved on many a milestone across the western West Riding, prompting the question, 'Where is that?' - Austerlands, westernmost point on the Wakefield to Austerlands turnpike on its way to Oldham and Manchester (precursor of the modern A.62).

Six maps are reproduced, in colour. The first three are from maps of Yorkshire produced before the railway age: Thomas Jeffreys' map of 1772 drawn at 1 inch to 1 mile; Christopher Greenwood's 1818 map drawn at 0.725 inches to 1 mile; and Henry Teesdale's 1828 map drawn at 0.7375 inches to 1 mile. All are here enlarged to 1.25 inches to 1 mile and each has a helpful interpretative introduction. These maps are important because they catch one of the key areas in the development of the woollen industry at the moment of its first development and growth. Between Jeffreys and Greenwood, the number of water-powered mills more than trebled, with the introduction of cotton spinning, wool carding and scribbling mills; several more turnpikes now crossed the township and the Huddersfield Narrow Canal had been built in 1811. Teesdale's map is only a revision of Greenwood's, with the addition of the Shepley to Greenfield turnpike (precursor of the modern A.635). Saddleworth was enclosed in 1834 with a map published in 1840, covering in four sheets that half of the township which lies south and east of a line roughly through Diggle, Uppermill and Greenfield. The four sheets are reproduced here at about 5 inches to 1 mile (half the original size), together with the printed key and index to the map. Between 1810 when the Enclosure Act was passed and 1834 economic conditions changed and many of the new walls and approach roads shown on the map were never built.

The bulk of the book is taken up with pages devoted to the Ordnance Surveys of 1854 (surveyed in 1849-51 at 6 inches to 1 mile and reproduced here at about 8.5 inches to 1 mile); and 1892-4 (surveyed 1888-92 at just over 25 inches to 1 mile and reproduced here at just under 17 inches to 1 mile). The first of these, printed in twenty-six double-spread plates, shows the culmination of that first stage in

industrialisation beginning at the time of Jeffreys' map: water-power was at its zenith; the turnpike system was complete; villages were growing along the transport network. The post-enclosure field boundaries are clearly shown, as were the tenter grounds essential to the manufacture of woollen cloth. A sign of the future is the appearance of the Huddersfield and Manchester railway, with a small station called Saddleworth near where the railway viaduct crosses the river Tame, the Huddersfield Canal and the Standedge and Oldham Turnpike. The 1888-92 survey at 25 inches to 1 mile was undertaken only for cultivated areas, so about a quarter of Saddleworth, mainly in the south and east, was not surveyed. Nevertheless, what remains, even at the reduced scale employed here, occupies sixty-seven double-spread plates giving a wealth of detail (but not the new administrative boundaries created by the Act of 1894). Here we can see individually named features of the urban and industrial landscape clustered around the mature transport network of roads, railways and canal.

This rich collection of historical source material should appeal to a wider readership than local historians of Saddleworth. Read alongside such works as W.B.Crump and G.Ghorbal, *History of the Huddersfield Woollen Industry* (1935), W.B.Crump, *Huddersfield Highways Down the Ages* (1949) and the more recent M.Smith, *Religion and Society. Oldham and Saddleworth 1740-1865* (1994), this interesting, informative and handsome volume will bring both understanding and pleasure to any historian of early industrialisation or with a lingering attachment to this ultramontane strip of Yorkshire's *terra irridenta*.

York

Edward Royle

WHO DO YOU THINK THEY WERE? THE MEMORIALS OF RIPON CATHEDRAL, edited by T. FORSYTH-MOSER. Ripon Cathedral, 2007. Paperback, 128pp, numerous colour illustrations. ISBN 978-0-9531979-2-7. Available from Cathedral Shop, Minster Road, Ripon HG4 1QS. £7.50 + p&p £2.50.

In 1847 Thomas Wilson, Sexton to the recently established Ripon Cathedral, published *A Verbatim Copy of all the Monuments, Gravestones and Other Sepulchral Memorials in Ripon Cathedral and its Burial Ground*. He listed 538 Monuments, as well as a note of inscriptions defaced or removed over the previous 120 years. He was prompted to publish because 'there was a strong inclination on the part of those whose relations "sleep their last long sleep" in and around the "Old Minstre" of Ripon, and public generally, to possess a copy of its numerous sepulchral memorials'. (To-day's public can access a scanned copy of Wilson's work on the web).

2008 sees the publication of a new presentation of these and more recent memorials, the fruits of investigation by a group of Cathedral volunteers into a sample of what the Cathedral has to offer in this regard. They have included not only memorials carved in stone but also those fashioned in glass, in paint, and in other media,

grouped into broadly chronological or thematic chapters. The principal emphasis is on the biographies of those who are commemorated, and the local and national events with which some of them were associated. There are copious colour illustrations of the monuments themselves, as well as of associated people, places and things. The book serves as an exemplar of how monuments can inform studies such as history, family history, art history, heraldry and commemorative practice itself, to name only some of the more obvious. It will be well regarded by those who want to wander in informed wonder around the Cathedral, and is a welcome educational addition to the Cathedral's range of guide books. In 1847 Wilson proceeded to publish 'after ascertaining that such an undertaking would at all events pay the expenses of printing...'; here the Heritage Lottery Fund has assured that the book is attractively priced.

York

Richard Hall

RURAL MORAL REFORM IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND: THE CRUSADE AGAINST ADOLESCENT FARM SERVANTS AND HIRING FAIRS. By GARY MOSES. Pp.272. Lampeter: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2007. ISBN: 978-0-7734-5277-0. £69.95.

This welcome publication draws together the themes that are already familiar from the half-dozen articles that Gary Moses has published on the topic over the last decade. The core of this study in social control is an account of the campaign by Church of England clergymen against farm service and hiring fairs in the East Riding of Yorkshire during the years 1850-1880.

After discussing the concept of social control and defending his approach, Moses examines the reasons for the 'persistence of farm servant labour' in the East Riding. Rather than disappear in the face of the growth of capitalist agriculture, the proportion - and probably the total number - of male farm servants in the agricultural workforce in the East Riding actually increased in the later-19th century. Mechanisation required the use of horses, and this in turn ensured the retention of 'horselads' living-in on the large isolated farms of the Yorkshire Wolds.

Moses argues that farm servants should be considered members of the rural proletariat and challenges the opposite view, expressed by Alun Howkins and others. The argument is rather laboured and does not take into account that the provision of shelter and food were a more significant remuneration than wages, which were only paid at the end of the year's service. Little attention is given to the fact that any collective socio-political activity was unlikely because of the young age of the servants and their lack of sustained association through their change of farm every year.

Two chapters deal with hiring fairs, concentrating on bargaining practices and popular recreation, and two with the Anglican campaign for the reform of hirings

and farm service. Moses identifies three stages in the reform campaign. The first in the 1850s urged farmers to hire only those servants who had written testimonials and encouraged the establishment of register offices in the market towns. The second phase that developed in the 1860s offered alternative hiring locations under cover with 'rational recreations' to lure the servants from the temptations of the public house and sideshows. The third stage in the 1870s called for separate hiring fairs for men and women and the outright abolition of hirings.

The reform campaign had little impact on the hirings, and none on the extent of farm servant labour. For the campaign to be successful it needed the support of the tenant farmers, but they were generally happy with the hirings and the use of farm servants. The Anglican clergy, the leaders of the reform movement, were generally without influence in the farming community. As Moses makes clear, Methodism was dominant in the area. For example, in the large closed estate parish of Sledmere three-quarters of population and eleven out of twelve tenant farmers were Methodist in the later-19th century.

It is a pity that Moses ends his study in 1880 for this does not allow him to demonstrate more fully the failure of the moral campaign. The continuation of the unruly hirings and farm service into the second quarter of the 20th century are well documented in Stephen Caunce's excellent *Amongst Farm Horsemen: The Horselads of East Yorkshire* (1991). It was agricultural depression, changes in employment law, the greater provision of farm cottages, and the two World Wars that eroded farm service which was finally ended by the widespread use of tractors in the later 1940s.

This book is valuable for its detailed documentation of the hirings and the hired and for the way it complements other work on this most distinctive feature of East Yorkshire's rural society and agriculture in the 19th century.

Beverley

David Neave

PENNINE PERSPECTIVES. ASPECTS OF THE HISTORY OF MIDGLEY. ESSAYS BY MEMBERS OF THE MIDGLEY HISTORY GROUP. Edited by IAN BAILEY, DAVID CANT, ALAN PETFORD and NIGEL SMITH. Midgley Books: Midgley, Halifax, 2007. Pp. vi + 346; 159 illustrations. ISBN 978 0 955 4965 1 6. Price £18.00 plus postage.

The genesis of this collaborative research project was the closure in 2001 of the village store and post office at Midgley, leaving this remote upland village in Calderdale without a meeting facility since its chapel, co-operative hall, other shops and pubs had previously suffered a similar fate. The establishment of a volunteer-run shop, post office and meeting room, a successful application for Heritage Lottery Funding and the involvement of the WEA enabled some twenty-five contributors to begin to restore a sense of community to the village by embarking on an exploration of its historical identity. The resulting publication ranging from prehistoric times to the twenty-first century focuses upon

the historic township of Midgley, encompassing both dispersed hamlets and parts of the nucleated settlements of Mytholmroyd, Luddenden and Luddenden Foot, as well as Midgley itself. It is attractively produced and exceptionally good value with numerous archive photographs, diagrams, tables and maps, many in full colour, including fold-out maps inside the back cover.

Dave Shepherd carefully assesses the evidence for prehistoric activity, providing a useful gazetteer and map of prehistoric features around Midgley, including the distinctive rock art features at High Brown Knoll, while Nigel Smith meticulously surveys the post-Domesday evidence for the development of settlement, concluding that the majority of the sites currently under settlement in the twenty-first century had been already occupied by the end of the seventeenth century. He also utilises documentary and fieldwork evidence to challenge William Marshall's assertion in 1788 that 'no country entirely mountainous, nor one which is disturbed by manufacture, can be a fit subject of study for rural knowledge'. Other chapters examine the painful transition from handloom weaving to factory production, with 'a clear pattern' established by 1851 of an older generation at home and a younger generation in the mills. Ruth Wilson's fascinating study of the social history of three terraces of mill workers' housing constructed between 1857 and 1894 by the Murgatroyds (whose Oats Royd Mill, founded in 1847, was the largest employer of labour in the area until its closure in 1982), extends the pioneering work on worker's housing in the Upper Calder Valley undertaken by the late Lucy Caffyn, while Eileen Furey and Patricia Lester assess the impact of the Murgatroyds' benign paternalism on the firm's industrial relations within the context of other West Riding examples. It is interesting that this 'most radical and implacably undifferentiated village' of the nineteenth century, a prominent centre of co-operation, radical nonconformity and self-help with possibly the most enduring Chartist organisation of any village in England, sustained the development of one of the most successful experiments in industrial paternalism in the Pennine uplands which enabled 'a major manufacturing base' to become 'established in Midgley township, changing its face forever and giving rise to stable employment for over one hundred years'. However, a study of trade directories and census returns reveals a five-fold growth of the farming sector across the township during the reign of Queen Victoria, underlining the transience of the industrial era, with Midgley characterised today by estate agents as 'one of Calderdale's most sought after and highly accessible rural locations'.

In earlier ages, the prevalence of gambling, intrinsic to many of the township's sports and pastimes ranging from cock fighting to knur and spell, a notorious incidence of wife selling in the village and the relatively late development of nonconformity provide some support for the redoubtable Revd William Grimshaw's description of Midgley as a 'wild and unchristian place'. Moreover, even the resurrection symbolism of the Easter Pace-Egg play, which survives today as one of the few examples of traditional folk drama, has been contested by modern folklore experts, notably Dr Eddie Cass, with his characterisation of the enduring mumming play as essentially devoid of meaning and motivated primarily by self-gain. However,

whilst the article by Veronica Gregory and Jane Clyde challenges some of Cass's conclusions, its survey of the twentieth-century revival of the tradition omits reference to the major contribution of J. Barber Gledhill.

The book does not claim to be a definitive history, but there are some major limitations in its coverage. For example, while there is incidental reference to plague customs in an exploration of local folklore there is no explicit analysis of the socio-economic impact of the Black Death on the locality. There is no survey of politics beyond the Chartist era and very little on the impact of the two world wars of the twentieth century or major developments of the post-war era such as one of the earliest and most successful experiments in comprehensive education in the West Riding at Mytholmroyd. Moreover the titles of some of the chapters appear rather nondescript: for example a demographic survey of the township, which focuses mainly on the Tudor era, is rather blandly titled 'Population and People', and discussion of conflicting Chartist allegiances lacks an awareness of the historiography of the movement. There is also considerable overlap between some chapters and some errors in the text. For example, Jabez Bunting did not refuse burial to a Luddite rioter; the demonstrators at Peterloo were charged by the militia and not by dragoons, and Edward, not Edmund, Baines was the author of the denominational survey of 1843. There are also some discrepancies about demographic trends in Midgley in the late sixteenth century, and economic deprivations of the 1840s with thousands reputedly taking advantage of the new seaside rail excursions. Finally, if local employers blacklisted Joseph Broadbent for his role in the Plug Plot disturbances it is intriguing that he appears in the 1851 Census as a worsted factory overlooker in Akroyd's model village at Copley, given that Akroyd was the principal target of Plug rioters in Halifax in August 1842.

Halifax

John A. Hargreaves

All communications about the editorial side of the Journal should be addressed to the Archaeology editor, Jill Wilson, Rarey Farm, Weaverthorpe, Malton, North Yorkshire, YO17 8EY. Tel: 01944-738282, e-mail pandjwilson@btopenworld.com or to the History editor, Edward Royle, 77 Heworth Green, York, YO31 7TL. Tel. 01904-423009, e-mail royle77@talktalk.net. Contributions should be prepared in accordance with the Notes for Contributors printed in volume 72 (2000). A copy of these may be had from the Editors, who will be happy to discuss informally any proposed article on the archaeology or history of the historic county of Yorkshire in any period. The Notes for Contributors are also available on the Society's website.

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